

EAST & WEST.

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FROM CLOUDLAND.

The discussion over the report of the Mesopotamian Commission, the agitation over the forcing the Pace, the Government of Mrs. Besant, and the growing demand for making the Government democratic and popular have all combined to focus attention on the situation in India. The idea that the present agitation for self-government will leave opinion in India unaffected is not supported by the march of events. For the last twenty years every new movement like the tidal wave has gone further than the breaker that first broke on the shores. It is said that the dissatisfaction of the educated classes is ephemeral and of no great importance, and the uneducated millions are satisfied, contented, loyal and law-abiding. It must be recognised that, like most movements of vigour which are started by a few remarkable people to shake free of the old anchors, the movement in

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India owes its birth to the intellectual minority. The intelligent classes understand what they are about, while the unthinking millions take on trust what their leaders tell them. The men in the mass are ruled by ideals and catchwords retailed ready-made. The psychology of the crowd in India does not differ materially from that of other countries. It would be idle to deny the inner transformation that is going on in the lives of the mass of the humble people. In recent times we have witnessed Russia, China and Turkey moved by small minorities. In India too things have been moving. New ideas 'racing in full blast' have loosened the roots of social fixities. Circumstances beyond human control are forcing the pace everywhere.

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THE educated classes, making the lower middle and the upper middle whether, in Government employment or out of it are distinctly dissatisfied. The masses appreciate peace and justice but the question of lightening their burdens has escaped the Government and they too are beginning to grumble. For centuries they have been heavily laden and have been given no relief. The upper classes have lost their hold and inherit only the pride and the vanity of their class. The spirit of dissatisfaction is generally admitted, only it is regarded as inevitable, which amounts to a confession of failure. Government's work is God's work. Humanity at all times has given unstinted devotion in response to all selfless endeavour. For generations the State has been bent on securing power rather than understanding or wisdom' to direct it. Watchful

waiting must give place to active steps towards winning the affections of the people to meet the demand of new times. Giving often means gaining.

Governments, Eastern and Western. EASTERN autocracy had its redeeming features; high-handed action was often coupled with unlimited generosity. Responsibility to God controlled the policy of an autocrat. A wise king—and it was only

a wise king who ruled for any length of time—gathered in his court all men of God-given power and influence—he patronised art and learning. Poets and artists influenced his policy with the inspiration of their own high ideals and moved him to serve his fellow men as the trustee of his people. The eastern conception of a Raja-Rishi implied a combination of power and renunciation—an ideal not easily realised. In the West Erasmus pronounced that the King should be “the true father of his people.” Vives ventured to suggest to King Henry VIII. himself that he should be the intellectual inspirer, as well as the military leader of his people. More says in the ‘Utopia’ that “from a prince as from a perpetual well-spring cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil.”

It is conceivable that for a few years a strong Government may succeed in enforcing silence and coercing towns and villages which is its first duty to protect. Such demonstrations of strength, however, defeat the very purpose for which all Governments exist. In the eternal silence unknowable powers hold the balance. It is only

those who prove themselves worthy to serve who are given the power to rule. An England that is pouring its treasures and giving its manhood to protect the liberties of mankind is not likely to countenance despotism. Peaceful co-operation and a steady advance towards self-government is the only possible policy of the future.



**The Strength of
Democracy.**

British statesmanship has always wisely moved forward and sought new adjustment in response to popular demand. In India too the time has come when the promise of the future should be clearly stated in a spirit of faith. We should look hopefully forward through the darkness of the future and endeavour to bring within reach of the people ideals not yet realised helping to realise them by holding firm to the assurances that they can and will be realised. Unrest is a symptom rather than the disease, and the best preventive of unrest is the removal of disturbing causes and the promotion of harmonious conditions. A large number of honest and upright men are convinced that future progress is safe in the hands of the British Government. In democratic countries leaders of advanced thought are given the chance to carry their ideas into effect. In India authorities maintain the silence of the sphinx, expecting worship without entertaining a priesthood to win worshippers. The Government must seek alliance of the Press the plat-form, and the public men. The strength of democracy lies in its faith and love,—on the whole it believes and loves much more powerfully

than other orders of society. It is only democratic methods which will succeed in modern India.

"Are there not thousands in in the world" said I,
 Who love their fellows even to the death,
 Who feel the giant agony of the world
 And more, like slaves to poor humanity.
 Labour for mortal good?"

* * *

In the early days, when the Queen proclaimed her
 policy at the Grand Durbar at Delhi
 and British officers brought peace and
 even-handed justice, they won loyalty
 and devotion for the Crown.

Land of Promise.

It was replaced by sullenness and silence and even
idolâtrous India is forgetting to burn incense. The times
 are changing. The iron hand to preserve order is good
 enough but is powerless to control forces which rule on a
 higher plane. Only fools use poison for what can be cured,
 by sugar, runs an Indian proverb. "You must," re-
 marked General Smuts "begin with the hearts of men."
 People know that salvation is not attained in a day but
 they also wish to know that men at the helm are not rest-
 ing on the oars, in the backwater, afraid of the high seas
 which must be crossed to reach the land of promise.

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The man who stands for a policy of no change has lost
 touch with the larger possibilities of
 Human Inheritance. life. He suffers from an atrophied soul.
 Human nature is everywhere the same.
 The altitudes of self renunciation are frequented rarely by

the many, while the desire for improvement and self-government is Human inheritance. The real self-government in which each individual will be a law unto himself is still a distant goal. The dawn of a sense of responsibility in the individual towards the whole society is beyond our vision.

In Christian countries people have not yet learned to rule themselves, nor have all Indians attained the capacity to govern their own country. This does not mean that the ideal of self-government is out of place here. Indeed it is the only ideal that will link India and England together. Great men in ancient and modern times who have helped human progress never allowed any misgivings to obscure their faith. The devotion to the cause of man became the goal of their highest efforts, their religion. India calls for a similar devotion from those in whose hands God has confided the destinies of 300 millions.

Intelligent Indians are out of things as they never were before. It is inevitable that they should desire to have an ever increasing share in the shaping of their own destiny, and in working toward the amelioration of millions who for centuries have passed from one master to another, and yet every master in turn has only thought of how to secure an increasing share in the fruit of their labour.

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The poet Austen sang that life was worth living for Englishmen for several reasons, one of which was that it was their privilege to enfranchise mankind. It has been a commonplace of the patriotic literature of Great Britain

that free or self-governing institutions follow the British flag wherever it is planted. Twenty months have elapsed since the Hon'ble. Sir S. P. Sinha, as President of the Congress at Bombay, demanded an early declaration of policy. Throughout this period Home Rulers have kept on insisting that self-government at an early date should be promised. Mr. Montague has at last made a declaration of policy. It is a "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government." People have read in it a message of hope in the light of his own speech and that of Lord Islington which preceded it. When Mr. Montague insists on gradual progress and the right of the British and Indian Governments to judge of the time and measure of each advance he repeats His Excellency the Viceroy's warning against catastrophic changes. No one can predict when the masses will be sufficiently educated to vote intelligently on public questions, and this is an essential condition for any real movement towards self-government. What can be promised and is promised is that "substantial steps" in the direction indicated will be taken as soon as possible. And people are satisfied because Mr. Montague himself is coming to settle the extent of the advance. He will receive a warm welcome and it is to be hoped that he will be treated as the guest of the people of India. Perhaps the share which His Excellency the Viceroy has taken in advancing the Indian cause will never be known. Lord Chelmsford hates publicity. He is fighting the battles of India in silence and without the usual flutter.



It may fairly be assumed that His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montague are in substantial agreement. Lord Islington in his speech indicated that the gradual development of responsible Government in India will be on the lines of the Australian Commonwealth. This would be a momentous change. Every part of British India will probably be brought under one province or another. Every province will presumably have a Governor. Democracy is the only method of Government known in Britain, and the present system is to be modified to suit democratic control. The permanent officials will be taken out of politics. The various Legislative Councils, Provincial and Imperial, expanded into popular assemblies will assume ultimate responsibility. The Executive Councils in ripeness of time will become more and more responsible to the popular voice. Who can now say that the future is bankrupt of promise?

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The Secretary of State, having declared the general policy the details of the substantial advance to be made remain to be settled. Mr. Montague's visit to India will save reams of writing and will give him clearer ideas than are conveyed by reports. There is obvious difference between a Secretary of State basing his decisions on publicly recorded evidence which Parliament and the public can read, and his private consultations. However one may hope that the personality of Mr. Montague is a guarantee that he will take correct measure

of the situation and take speedy action. He may be credited with an open mind.

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HIS EXCELLENCY LORD CHELMSFORD in opening the autumn session of the Legislative Council spoke with a fulness and frankness which must banish all misunderstanding. Every word of his speech rang sincere and true. He is more a man of deeds than of words as he himself remarked :—"I would make no promises of which I could not see the prospect of early fulfilment."

Circumstances have persuaded him to lift the veil and reveal that from the day he assumed charge of his high office he made it his business to make Indian aspirations his own and devote all his energies to remove Indian grievances. The pity of it is that the public in general knows nothing of his high endeavours. How much sweeter public life in India would become if there were a closer and more intimate connection between the members of the Government of India and the leaders of popular opinion.

* * *

The Viceroy set himself :—

- (1) To secure that the services of the Indian Army should not go unrecognised or unrequited.
- A Noble Record,
- (2) That grievances, either sentimental or material, which were found to exist should be removed.
- (3) That the goal of British rule in India should be defined and the roads leading to that goal laid out.

The earnestness and clarity of vision with which the Viceroy approached the problem is summed up in the following lines :—

“At the very first Executive Council which I held as Viceroy and Governor-General, I propounded two questions to my Councils :—

- (1) What is the goal of British Rule in India?
- (2) What are the steps on the road to that goal ?

We came to the conclusion, which, I trust most Hon'ble Members will agree, was inevitable—that the endowment of British India as an integral part of the British Empire with self-government was the goal of British Rule, and His Majesty's Government have now put forward in precise terms their policy in respect of this matter, a policy which I may say that we as the Government of India regard in substance as practically indistinguishable from that which we put forward.” Lord Chelmsford is no mere dreamer of dreams—he is a man of action. He was determined to establish the self respect of India in other parts of the Empire, and when the proposal for an Imperial War Conference came to him he secured for India an equal representation in the Imperial War Conference and in the future Cabinet of the Empire which is to meet every year. This is a notable advance on what Lord Hardinge foreshadowed. The question of Indentured Labour was then taken up and it was abolished under the Defence of India Act. A scheme has now been worked out which would secure aided emigration and colonization for Indians. The position of the Indians in Canada has been clearly defined. He has obtained recognition of the fact that what measures are enforced

in regard to the emigration or the visits of Indians to Canada, shall also prevail with regard to the emigration or visits of Canadians to India. Surely this is no mean achievement for a short reign of sixteen months.

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THERE could be no greater proof of Lord Chelmsford's sympathy with advanced political thought than his selection of Mr. Basu as a member of the Council of the Secretary of State. "I was most anxious that there should be on the Secretary of State's Council one who was in intimate touch with the latest political developments." From constructive politics to the efficiency of various services and speeding up progress, is a goodly record. The Indian Army received his first attention. The service was generally improved and free rations granted to rank and file; the bar which stood in the way of Indians getting King's Commissions has been removed. The army in India has been starved so long that there is great lee-way yet to be made up. A soldier does not fight solely for his wage, but more for prestige and honour. The King's soldier should not get less than what is paid to an ordinary labourer if he is to hold up his head in the village. The opening of Commissions is a tardy recognition of years of faithful service. An Indian Army Reserve of Officers should be raised without delay, so that the question which the Viceroy described as dating back to prehistoric time may find an early solution. There should be no difficulty in raising a few Indian regiments to be officered entirely by Indian Officers. The appointment of nine old members of the Imperial Cadet Corps somehow has the appearance of a fictitious arrange-

ment. The sooner the promise is carried into fulfilment the greater will be its influence on general recruitment.

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IN the matter of cotton duties and the modifications of the Arms Act the pronouncement of **Sturdy Independence.** the Viceroy is marked by sturdy independence. He has declared that as head of the Government of India he would offer the most strenuous opposition to any proposal for reimposition of the cotton duty. In the matter of the administration of the Arms Act he said "I can say that we, as the Government of India, will not accept any solution of this question which continues to base exemption on racial distinctions." India should rejoice that in Lord Chelmsford it has a Viceroy with whom Indian interests are paramount. And no other interests can prevail.

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It is easy to dream of an ideal condition, but to translate dreams into realities is not given **Roads to Realization.** to every man. The process is weary and of slow growth, and, as Morley describes it, politics are associated with compromises at every step. The Viceroy pointed out three distinct directions in which progress must be made. "The first road was in the domain of local self-government, the village, the rural board and the town or municipal council. The second road lay in the domain of the more responsible employment of **Indians under Government.** The third road lay in the domain of the Legislative Councils." The policy enunciated by the Government of India will provide for substantial progress in all the three directions.

IN-dealing with the question of Industrial Development His Excellency, while complimenting Sir Thomas Holland on the result already achieved, gave some details of what has been done to make India more self-contained and less dependent on the outer world for supplies of manufactured articles. Incidentally he dwelt on the great possibilities which co-ordination and centralization of commercial intelligence have brought to the focal point for the regeneration of Indian industries. Indeed, we are revealing no official secret when we say that the Industrial Regeneration of India is the dream of Lord Chelmsford's heart.

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THE replies to the questions of the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah and Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan by the Home Member promises amnesty for all the interned politicians. Indeed, Mrs. Besant need not endure for a day longer her enforced inactivity. The Government has only stipulated that she shall abstain from violent and unconstitutional means of agitation. We feel sure no one realises more than Mrs. Besant the need for Unity and enthusiasm at the present moment of the Empire's need. Our armies are fighting desperately and bravely in the far-flung battlefields of the Empire the most vital questions of the future of India and the Empire. Now that His Majesty's Government has declared its goal with regard to India, and Mr. Montague is coming himself to initiate substantial steps towards its attainment, all our united energies must be put forth to win the war. All else must wait. Faith on the part of the

people, faith on the part of the Government is the only key to progress. We have every hope that Mrs. Besant will co-operate with the Government now that the ideals which she fought for have been accepted. Here is her opportunity to serve the Empire in its time of need and she has never flinched from duty.

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India's Man Power. THE establishment of a Man Power Board has accelerated recruitment generally. Previous to the war the average enlistment did not exceed 15,000 per annum. "It has now to be reckoned in tens of thousands." With the expansion of the Army has come the corresponding expansion of departmental services, such as "Engineer, Medical Transport, Ordnance and Supply personnel." The organised labour alone has supplied 20 labour corps to Mesopotamia, and 25 to France, 60,000 artisans have gone to Mesopotamia and East Africa, and 20,000 have been despatched overseas. The calls on India have not ceased indeed they are bound to increase if we don't secure a speedy victory.

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Financial Position. "India" said the "Viceroy, is the financial pivot of the British Empire in the East. Thus apart from the expenditure in India and Mesopotamia to which I have just referred, she is also undertaking the finance of large quantities of wheat, jute manufactures, hides and numerous other essential commodities which she is supplying to Great Britain, to the Dominions, and to the Allied

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Governments. She is also providing funds on a considerable scale to East Africa and Persia, and has had on various occasions to assist Ceylon, Mauritius and Egypt by remittances of specie and otherwise. Of course we receive repayment for these services but as it is not made in India they necessarily constitute a continuing tax on our present resources here." Sir William Meyer must be congratulated for steering the course without fear or favour with compass set clear to the goal.

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LORD Chelmsford struck a note of warning when he pleaded that the intervening time might be spent in quiet examination of the arguments to be placed before Mr. Montague. "He should find a calm atmosphere, policies carefully thought out and supported by sober arguments and concrete facts, and a spirit of sobriety dominating everyone worthy of the issues to be examined." In a noble peroration he said, "From the King-Emperor down to his humblest subject, the British people are proud of the bonds which link them to India, and never more so than at this moment when the sons of India are fighting the battles of the Empire with such courage and devotion. But forgive me if I warn you—and this warning has no special application to any community, but includes British and Indian alike, the public leaders, and particularly the press representing every interest, and every class—forgive me if I warn you that sentiment is a delicate plant which withers beneath the rude breath of uncharitableness. It is only, by constant and watchful

regard for the feelings of others that a sweet and healthy sentiment for the Empire can be brought to blossom and bear fruit on Indian soil. Let it not afterwards be laid at the door of this generation that in these spacious times of Imperial regeneration we allowed the sense of Imperial attachment through any fault of our own, to lose its vitality. After all, whatever our differing points of view we all have at heart the same thing—the welfare of India.’

It is to be hoped that our press and political leaders will respond to the invitation of the Viceroy and recognise the duty that they owe to His Majesty and his Viceroy to help them with all the power at their command, in this the Empire’s hour of need, and deal with the problems as they arise with sweetness and tolerance, full of faith and frankness helping the growth of the sentiment of Unity which sons of India have fostered with their blood. Will it be to the credit of those who can wield the pen if they choke out the full development of the unity of East and West nursed by the blood of western and eastern soldiers of the Empire?



The tide of opinion will turn into enthusiasm if Government initiates new measures of reform with usual political preparation and education of opinion. The more India comes to know of Lord Chelmsford, the more he will be loved and respected. Unfortunately the opportunities of knowing him are not given to many and he is too deep natured and too much in the earnest to talk, but there is no reason why other members of the government should not talk and why moderates in touch with Government should

not take up the Education of opinion on right lines. H. E. the Viceroy has read the signs of the times. It is to be hoped that the condition of the masses will not escape his notice. Agriculture is and for generations must remain the chief industry of India. The masses can only appreciate measures which are framed to lighten their burdens and insure agricultural development, the Indian agriculturist for long ages has been heavily taxed so much so that in some parts of India a fair proportion of the agricultural population is always on the margin. The incidence of land tax varies from Province to Province and from district to district. The land tax claims 50% of the land-lord's assets, exclusive of rates and cesses and is revised periodically and often increased at a single revision of assessment by 50%. The result is that agricultural improvement does not appeal to the producer as it would otherwise, if the profits were guaranteed to him. The agricultural population needs rest. Lord Curzon's own resolution studied in the light of standards for other taxes is in itself a confession of an insupportable policy. He was definite about nothing and even his suggestion that at a single revision of settlement the Revenue should not be increased over 25% has not been followed.

There can be no measure which would send such a thrill of joy throughout the country as the announcement that Land Revenue will not be increased without special need and the usual sanction by the legislature. It is not meant that the Government should forfeit its future share in the increased produce of land. The Government can find other ways of taxing incomes from land. A graduated

duty on export of grain may be introduced, to yield the expected annual increase. It will produce the necessary revenue which is anticipated by the usual periodical revision of assessment and yet it will be an indirect tax. It may in time lead to the abolition of land tax altogether as Rai Ganga Ram anticipates in his interesting brochure on the subject.

The advantages of the proposal are:—

- (1) The enthusiasm that the change from a direct to an indirect tax will arouse.
- (2) The fixity of tenure will serve to bind the interests of the people with the Government.
- (3) The substitution of an indirect tax in place of a direct tax will be more in keeping with the spirit of the times.
- (4) It will help to equalise the tax on land in all parts of India.
- (5) It will secure the energies of the people in the development of agriculture.
- (6) It will only tax the surplus and exempt the food of the people from being taxed.
- (7) It will automatically adjust the demand in good years and bad years.
- (8) It will place Bengal on a level with other Provinces of India.

A spirit of inertia in a matter of vital importance to the millions is out of place in modern times. The villages after nearly a century of British rule have made little progress and a responsible Government cannot for ever remain satisfied with the assurance that the standard was fixed by their predecessors and must hold good for all times. Times are changing. The contentment and the loyalty of the villages will be the greatest asset in the coming times. Is there any harm in appointing a small Commission to enquire into the economic and agricultural condition of the villages? The Commission need hold no public enquiry but go about and study things and then submit a private report which is bound to reveal many things which are now glossed over. The Commission might report on the following :—

- (1) The inequality of the land tax from district to district.
- (2) The available surplus in each district liable to a tax.
- (3) Ways and means to improve the condition of the villages.

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In the Budget Debate in the Bombay Legislative Council in July last, one speaker pointed out that while, with a revenue of eight crores, the Bombay Government spent 30 pies in the rupee on the Police, it spent only 3 pies in the rupee on sanitation :

Side Lights

Another showed that the Forest Department cost 56 per cent of the whole Forest Revenue. A third stated why the pecuniary aid promised by mercantile bodies to the Sydenham College of Commerce had been withdrawn: the Government had failed to equip it properly and do their best for its efficiency. A fourth showed how a donation of eight lakhs by a worthy Mohammedan for Mohammedan education was lying unutilized, owing to Government supineness. Surely the Agha Khan could have been consulted by letter or even by telegram. To the interpellation of the fifth, the reply was curt, "Government have no information on the subject." What India needs is not only the sturdy defence of things as they are, but a sturdy desire for improvement harnessing into service officials and non-officials.

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We heartily welcome the assurance given in the concluding passage of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji: "I trust that we shall always find

A Noble Pronouncement.

in this country in future years, great leaders as much respected and trusted by the people, with an equal sense of airiness, of courage and fearlessness in all their public and political thought and action who will carry on the work of these great men, Mehta, Gokhale, and Dadabhai and will lead this country on by sure and certain progress to the goal of self-government within the Empire which it should be the ideal of every loyal patriot to attain."

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The predominant note of the speeches delivered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his recent recruiting tour has been, as he himself put it, "Wherever the British Flag flies the Sikh soldier is there to uphold it, and they have come out of this terrible test with a more glorious record and a still higher reputation." Before the war broke out the Sikhs and Sikh movements were not properly understood. There was a growing estrangement between the straight speaking Sikh who was justly proud of his past achievements, and valued himself as a soldier of the Crown and the apostles of prestige who delighted to talk him down.

It is no use going over the mistakes of the past—the war has bridged the gulf. The traditional loyalty and devotion of the Sikhs has proved itself through the flames of war. Many Sikh regiments refused to yield ground, and were annihilated, and have been practically raised afresh. From the Maharaja of Patiala to the poorest Zemindar and the brave Sikh woman who gave her two sons to the war, and the devoted wife who rather than suffer the pain of parting enlisted and was finally discovered in Mesopotamia all have played their part in the old heroic spirit. The Sikhs with less than 1% of the entire Indian population have furnished in this war 20% of the fighting strength of the total Indian army and the honours earned are just about one-fourth of what the whole Indian army has earned.

In the olden days the belief grew up that Sikhs were the chosen people and destined to realise their future under

the British flag. Will this belief be now fostered ? . What is going to be the share of the Sikhs in the reforms? Are they to be treated in the same way as at the time of the Minto-Morley reforms, with no direct representation in the Provincial or the Imperial Councils? If so, it will prove that to get things done there is no other way but that followed by the impatient reformers.



THEORY AND PRACTICE

UNDER the English Constitution an Indian has the same civil rights as an Englishman. He can be the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor of England or the Governor-General of India.

In practice invidious distinctions close almost all avenues to preferment for Indians. These distinctions are, the cause of all the discontent and agitation which is gaining in strength every day. The result is that the British Rule in India is in danger of losing the affections of the people.

Those who have the stability of British Rule at heart, both Indian and British born, for the good of India and the Empire should consider it their sacred duty to form an Association with the object of removing all practical disabilities which stand in the way of Indians ; thus laying the foundation of British Rule in the hearts of the people which at present rests on a rumbling volcano.

To organise the Association we want a powerful band of selfless workers of position, learning, experience and independent means to dedicate their lives to the good cause, and give their time, labour and money to raise India to a position worthy of its hoary past and the ideals

which inspire British statesmen. The Association should have adequate funds and an active propaganda, and continue to work till the ideal that an Indian has the same Civil rights as the Englishman is realised.

My scheme claims to get in practice what the English Constitution grants in theory.

- (i) It places before Indians a common objective; the removal of disabilities which are not in conformity with British ideals.
- (ii) It reconciles personal and communal interests raising no conflicting questions.

It gives an equal chance to every subject in the British Empire to do all he can for his individual improvement and for the general improvement of his countrymen.

It will be a practical step towards the realisation of the universal brotherhood of man and the universal motherhood of nature. It will be a movement in the direction of making British Rule in India as permanent as any human institution can be made permanent. It will appeal to the feelings of the people and it will help them to realise that no other arrangement could offer the same advantages as the free and equal rule of Britain. It will enable members of the various religions and sects to work shoulder to shoulder for the common good of the whole country without compromising in the least their position in regard to religious or social customs. It will enable Englishmen who are free from social prejudice to work for the Indians in the great cause of human progress.

It will help the expansion of the British Empire and will lead to the inclusion within its boundaries of Turkey, Arabia,

Persia and parts of Central Asia inhabited by Muslims, who, so far as I can see, have no territorial patriotism. If people of these countries are convinced that all their civil rights will be exactly the same as of an Englishman there is no reason why they should not prefer to join the great Commonwealth which British Rule will then represent.

One may go a step further and say that if China were offered British Citizenship in the Commonwealth with equal rights and equal opportunities there is no reason why they should not prefer it and save themselves the turmoil. The British Commonwealth will become the centre of human progress, giving to the strong sacred opportunities of working for the weak, providing for all nations weak and small opportunities to work out their own destinies under the protection of the Commonwealth in which all are free to share according to the measure of their capacity.

“ Societies which from generation to generation produce in due abundance individuals who relatively to their requirements are the best physically, morally and intellectually must become the predominant societies and must tend through the quiet process of industrial competition to replace other societies. ” This is the law of nature, but the divine law expects from the strong the use of their strength in the service of the less strong. Power and pride often spoil nations and bring about their decline. In an Association of nations such as I propose the strong will be saved by helping the weak and the weak will be given an opportunity to grow helped by the strong. The law of God will be fulfilled.

It will enable the Rulers to start the process of assimilation at once and to arrest the growing and dangerous

discontent which is bound sooner or later to assume huge magnitudes. It will enable various countries to meet on a common platform and to compare their social institutions and gradually to choose the best. It will set free a vast amount of energy wasted in internecine struggles and warfare to be utilised in the service of mankind. It will fill the Empire with peace, prosperity and harmony. It will make England the most powerful nation of the world and the greatest supporter of the cause of humanity.

Lucknow.

KARAMAT HUSSAIN.

• HEARTSEASE.

“Heartsease!” she said, and handed me the flower
A purple pansy, velvet-petalled sweet,
Never, I thought, if she had known her power
Had there been irony quite so complete.

For heartsease left me on that very day,
Left me, I know it, never to return.
Another claims her thoughts and all the way
I can but think of her, and pray, and yearn.

B. M. WILLS.

Awarded 1st class Honours in a February 1916 Poetry Competition.

DEMOCRACY AND THE WORKING OF DIVINE LAW.

IT is certainly true that the minds of thoughtful men have oft and again been turned to the consideration of the problem which gives rise to such questions as the following :—

Is the democratic ideal one on which to base our hopes and aspirations for the future of humanity ?

Is it desirable that this ideal, as propounded in various ways by such exponents as Edward Carpenter, Carl Marx, Tolstoi and many others, should be set up as a goal for which we should strive?

This article being an attempt to throw some light on the democratic conception from a point of view which hitherto has not been availed of, and which may be taken as one for ascertaining if there is a place for democracy in that great scheme of things sometimes termed Divine Law, it is necessary before approaching the subject to first define it in terms which have come to be generally accepted as being a true definition.

A democratic state may therefore be described as one comprising a form of Government in which the supreme power is supposed to be directly or indirectly lodged in the hands of the people.

Now many of the notions associated with this are scattered round the central idea contained in such a phrase as "Liberté, égalité, fraternité," the great watch-word of the French revolutionaries, and, while at first sight there is a liability for the average person to be glamourised by a sequence of words, each one the expression of a lofty abstract principle, it is neither in the sequence nor in the words but in their application to concrete conditions that we must consider their use, misuse, or abuse.

Now liberty in its fullest significance is actually unattainable, it can only be partial, never complete, for even the exponents of the "free-will" doctrine as opposed to that of "predestination" have to admit that the former is only dynamic in man's sphere of liberty, which science declares to be an extremely limited one.

Equality can only apply to particular individuals and does not exist in the human Kingdom in general, this being distinguished, as much if not more than any other, by a marked inequality, an inequality which exists in the whole of man's make-up of physical, emotional, and mental characteristics.

Fraternity, as far as it can at present be expressed, or ever has been expressed, is confined to groups of particular individuals contained in a state, a religion, a community, the units composing the groups possessing similar characteristics without any marked divergence in racial temperament, type or habit, although a varying capacity could in no wise be considered detrimental.

If anybody is of opinion that this statement is questionable, it is only necessary to draw attention to the attitude of the greatest modern democratic State towards

its negro population, for, while tolerance might, with a stretch of imagination, be taken as descriptive of the white towards the coloured race, any suggestion of a fraternity as existing between the two would constitute an outrage on American susceptibilities. .

Is it, therefore, too much to assume that, because these ideas can only be materialized in such a restricted and partial sense, the attempt to apply them where full fruition is not possible is more or less of a farcical undertaking? For liberty that is restricted and incomplete is not liberty, a fraternity that is exclusive cannot claim to be one possessing the ideal of brotherhood, and equality of all is unthinkable. .

It is quite conceivable that for a very small State, some form of democratic government might be suitable, but such a State is merely a community for which the name of "nation" is too wide? but if we take an Empire such as the British, can it with truth be said that the results obtained so far are a vindication of democratic government as at present understood, or a justification for its extension on present lines? .

Yet are we not supposed to be fighting for this very thing to-day, for free democracy against the menace of autocratic control? .

Some of the greatest minds have asserted that the best form of Government is a benevolent despotism, a benign autocracy, and although neither benignity nor benevolence characterised the rule of Porfirio Diaz of Mexico, the end of that potentate's regime turned out to be the greatest calamity that could have happened to that State; he made

Mexico, and his tenure of office was marked by a capacity to rule that has seldom been surpassed in historical times.

And when we turn to Germany we find a somewhat similar happening, the rise in a comparatively brief period of a number of small States into a mighty Empire which, but for the lust for military glory imposed on it by William II and his accomplices, was on the high road to the achievement by peaceful means of that very desideratum which its foolish leaders thought would be attained more rapidly by brute force. *

But the misapplication of a principle or idea does not constitute a proof that it is one to be condemned as essentially wrong, and, when we compare the achievements of Germany, as representing the Autocratic principle, with those of other Powers that have put their faith in a government by election, there is much food for thought.

It may well be said that in thus putting democracy into the scales against a far older and more matured system, there is an element of unfairness, for the former, being so young and still growing, is not at present a fair example of what its advocates intend and hope to make it in the future ; but some have declared that, while the system is undoubtedly the right one, humanity at its present stage is not ripe for it, it is not sufficiently self-controlled, it must still be ruled from without, kindly ! yes ! but certainly controlled and restricted.

Here we are brought face to face with a fact in evolution which is indisputable, namely, that in every nation the wisest are in a minority, the least wise forming the majority, and, with this before us, such a notion as "Government

of the people, by the people for the people" can only mean that the election of the representatives of state is *ipso facto* largely in the hands of the proletariat. Democrates, the Pythagorean philosopher is reported to have said, "It is better to be governed by, than to govern, the stupid," but this was intended only to refer to the individual in particular and could hardly be considered as a justification for the universal application of such an idea.

As Bulwer stated, "the first law of Nature is inequality" and again, "if the whole world conspired to enforce the falsehood (universal equality) they could not make it law," and puny man's endeavours to produce an artificial equality by making the vote of an inoramus equal to that of the greatest thinker in the land, can serve no useful or moral purpose, for "ignorance multiplied a thousand-fold is still ignorance" and does not become wisdom because of its numerical superiority.

The idea of the perfect republic is no new thing, for from the days of Plato until to-day we have been presented with various Utopian and Arcadian ideals, a study of which will convince anybody that a prerequisite to that form of Government is that the people should possess enlightenment, and, above all, have attained to a certain degree of selflessness and innate morality; it is possible to form a democracy of such materials, but quite a different thing when the attempt is made with a mass of stuff ranging from the most depraved to the highest human types we know.

Some of the abuses which have arisen out of present day democracy are fundamentally opposed to the lowest conceptions of duty, for a system of trade regulations which prohibits a skilled workman from putting forth his

best energies, prevents men from working when they want to work, and denies the right of men to earn their daily bread unless they join a Union, can only be described as immoral in spite of the fact that it is protected by legislation.

The idea of getting all you can, and doing as little for it as possible, is an ignoble one and the antithesis of the highest conception of service which is reached by striving to do one's best for a sufficient wage.

On the other hand there is the power of capital, which appears to flourish like a green bay tree when rooted in democratic soil; it is a power that is often grossly abused, and it is largely owing to this that internal troubles happen to be the rule instead of the exception.

Now in order to try and relate this principle of Democracy to the working of Divine Law, it is first necessary to ascertain in what manner the manifestations of Divine Law are carried out, and the only authoritative statements on the subject are to be found in the scriptures and religions of the world which—although differing widely in form, details and modes of expression—are identical in the fundamental truths they proclaim.

One of these truths is that the world, the cosmos, is ruled by a single omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent intelligence in which or under which great beings of various spiritual grades carry out the universal law, and no one has yet ventured to assert that the will of this mighty intelligence, known in the Western World as God, is tempered by anything that would compare with the materialistic conception of a limited monarchy; the hierarchy of spiritual beings termed in our own scriptures

principalities, powers, angels etc., merely carry out His will, which is natural law in all its numerous ramifications.

Yet man is also potentially a spiritual being, and will know himself to be one when he attains to the measure of the stature of the fullness of the great founder of the Christian faith, and is it unreasonable to assume that, because he is made in the likeness of God his Eternal Father, it might be expected that all earthly affairs should serve as a means by which he should endeavour, as far as he is able, to follow those precepts, and to copy those systems which his religion teaches him are embodied in Cosmic law?

We are faced again with the necessity of admitting that the prerogative of hereditary royalty is one that may very possibly be abused, and do we not see instances of it now? But, although this is an argument against absolute monarchism, it does not follow that democratic government in its present form, is the only alternative, for now the elected are expected to conform to the people's will, they represent and carry out the wishes of the majority of their constituents, not that of the wise minority.

Is there then no system in which the principle could be carried out that every man, aye and every woman too, should have "some voice" in the nation's affairs, without the *reductio ad absurdum* of present methods? .

The answer is in the affirmative, for it would be possible to found a system in which, without any violation of democratic principles, every adult would have an indirect instead of a direct voice in the selection of a representative government, which would see that the highest administrative and executive posts were filled by those who were best qualified to hold them.

Such a system would involve a very different grouping of the electorate than that which at present decides who shall obtain a seat in parliament, for it would be necessary for the country and towns to be parcelled out into small divisions, each of which would elect one of its members to represent it, these elected ones would again form the electorate of larger areas (areas of population) and their representatives would again in their turn select those who would stand for still larger areas, and so on until you came to a single individual who would be the president of the whole State and would choose his own advisers.

Also it ought to be possible, because essential, that a certain standard of intelligence and ability should be reached by every individual before he would be judged fit to carry full voting power, the least intelligent being given only a fractional part of a complete vote.

This method would result in something analogous to a hierarchical form of Government to which every citizen had contributed and for which every unit of the population was to a certain degree responsible. It would entirely do away with the party system, and, while effectually preventing any attempt at co-operative mismanagement by the more ignorant masses, would insure, as far as possible, the access to responsible authority of the best individuals in the land.

The elections would be for a term of years, but, under certain circumstances it would be possible for the representative of any particular group to be compelled to resign in favour of someone more suitable, and machinery for effecting such changes would be operative from the highest downwards.

To elaborate such a scheme as this would be impossible in an article which is intended solely to present the idea that we should try and arrange our affairs here in some semblance of what appears to be the plan of the Great Architect of all, and, if we look ahead, there does seem a prospect in years to come that the representatives of the higher civilizations on this Earth will have evolved some form of democratic statesmanship more in conformity with truth, justice, and humanity, and to which our present imperfect system is but a stepping stone.

M. R. St. JOHN.

LONDON DURING THE WAR.

I came over from France where, to meet Poincaré who returned from Russia, crowds at the Gare du Nord shouted "Vive l'armée !" and sung :

"Aux armes, citoyens !"

Where at Isle-Adam we had heard a long succession of trains bearing soldiers and cannon go thundering by to meet the Teuton: where, I had viewed unforgettable scenes of agonized parting from sad but clear-eyed wives and mothers as the men of the nation went to war.

"To carry their warm and breathing breasts
Against the cold machines."

I arrived in the British capital and found a London that was strange to me. The unexpected bank holidays had filled the streets with eager news-seeking people, some of them young clerks who tramped from Trafalgar Square and down Whitehall, some following the French flag and singing not only "Rule Britannia" but also "The Marseillaise." Most were merely observers adventuring for pure curiosity's sake. Tuesday night the shouters thronged along the mall and cheered before Buckingham Palace until the King came out and acknowledged their cheers : and the following morning we knew that war had been declared.

London for a time grew more confidently excited than ever. The regulars departed from their barracks in the grey of early morning, and Territorials came to take their places. Huge placards called for recruits :

“ Your King and Country Need You.”

Troops marched the streets ; soldiers drilled in Hyde Park ; and newsboys broke the silence of Grosvenor Square with their raucous cries. A week previous it was a sweet song :

“ Who'll buy my blooming lavender ?

Sixteen blue branches, one penny !”

Now it was, “ Extrall! Germans advance on Liège! Pyper !” The banks were closed ; business stopped ; we did not, could not, think of anything but war. Thackeray was laid aside for Bernhardt ; the old lyrics of Dibdin and Burns were supplanted by the war poems of William Watson and Lawrence Binnyon. Times had changed ; London was not the London we knew. Americans met us on every street-corner, familiar voices greeted us with tales of war-time inconvenience and imaginary dangers on the continent. The faces were familiar ; but the news was strange. The summer of study and the vacation of quiet were over. Europe was at war !

Then the city and the nation passed into what may be called the first phase during which the ministerial dictum was “ Carry On.” People were told to mind their own business and to leave the conduct of the war to those who knew better than they. So after the first excitement there was little difference between the London of old and the things going on about us, except for a few khaki uniforms

in the streets, except for the frantic American follies at the Savoy Hotel or in the Haymarket, except the interest in the evening papers and "*Stop Press News*," except for a casual curiosity in Proclamations read with great solemnity on the steps of the Royal Exchange.

Some little incidents will illustrate the things one saw, and the triviality of the whole performance.

It was Saturday night. The usual crowds strolled along Oxford Street. Boys were shouting the war news. Territorials in uniform joined with the other people; and there was in the very air a feeling of half-suppressed excitement. The vendors of little flags declared them "Myder silk!" and small ragamuffins with paper hats and tin-pan drums marched in mock-heroic parade. Such was the scene when I strolled out of a café. Suddenly I saw a man running, someone shouted "Stop thief!" and in an instant the pavements were in an uproar. It was a scene out of Dickens. All the world took instant part and assisted in the mad chase. In less time than it takes to put these words on paper, the pursuit was over; and the culprit seized. The customary heterogeneous assemblage followed after the three Bobbies and their prize.

Then came a whimsical turn to the incident. The small boys who had been proclaiming at the top of their voices all or nothing about Belgian victories, changed the motif and said: "Boy arrested in Oxford Street!" "Pyper!" "German Spy Arrested in Oxford Street!" "Extrahl!" It was done in fun, of course, but the people took up the note; and an excitable, hatless haberdashery clerk turned to me and remarked, "Do you really think it was a German Spy?" I said, "Of course not!" but he rejoined, "But I heard a

man say he was!" We left the newsboys to their little joke for it was no more. They had now turned their attention to other matters and I heard one say that a day-old paper he had tried to pass off for a "Late War Edition" was not "yesterday's" but "to-morrow's."

In the meanwhile we walked along Tottenham Court Road toward the Metropolitan police station. A slim little Cockney lass dressed in grey called across the street to her girl friend with a red cap, "Aaa-nee; Come over here!". The culprit turned to one of his captors and retorted, to a question which I did not hear, "Do you know what my reputation is?" But the crowd cared little for reputations. They were out to see what was to be seen, they were willing to follow almost any leader. A man shouted, "Hang the German Spy!" and the cry was taken up by several. So, with young and old, ragged and neat, dishevelled and clean, following along until the police station was reached we made our little pilgrimage. Oliver Twist was taken inside. The people in the crowd attempted to linger and learn more; but were told to move along,—which they did expressing profound satisfaction that another German spy had been captured.

The explanation was easy, for with the officers had marched a representative of the "General" bus Company. It was a simple matter of finance, or evasion of fare. I then walked home through the quietness of Torrington Square and ruminated on the excitability of war crowds. Next morning I read the simple facts in the news sheets.

The fact that London had gone crazy about German spies was brought to our attention in a more serious way. Everyone was open to suspicion. For instance, I have

some friends who lived out at Finchley and who are unfortunate enough to have a German name. Several shops in the neighbourhood have been damaged by excited crowds because their proprietors were supposed to be Germans; and one was only saved by a timely display of the Union Jack. So, of course, my friends were a bit nervous for themselves and took care to drape a Union Jack across their door, more for protection and out of compulsion, than for patriotism or out of enthusiasm. Even this did not save them. One day, about three in the afternoon, Mr.—answered a ring at the door to find three soldiers awaiting him. “You have an automobile?” “Yes.” “Show us where you keep it.” “All right. I suppose if it has been requisitioned for the army, it’ll have to go; so take it if you must. But give me a receipt for it.” “Oh! no. You’ll not need a receipt. We don’t want the motor, we only want to seal it up.” “Why?” “Because you’re a German subject.” Mr.—soon explained that he was not a German, that he had been born in England, and had always lived here. They continued to believe him a German so he insisted he was British born. They were still sceptical, so he went to his library and produced his birth certificate. Finally they departed unconvinced and still doubting.

That incident over, he thought it strange and felt rather uncomfortable in these times to have others think him a German. In the evening as we sat before the fire, for the wet summer evenings of London are chilly; there came another ring at the door. Again it was an English soldier, but this one had evidently been trying to prove himself a more enthusiastic follower of Bacchus than of Mars. He swayed gently in the wind and asked for a

drink of water, please. Wondering much, we brought the water, which he barely tasted. "Couldn't you put a little something in it to take out the taste, guv'nor, please." The next step was to give him some whiskey, whereupon he invited himself in and remained about three quarters of an hour talking, exhibiting his equipment, showing how his rifle mechanism worked, taking out his cartridges, and having much difficulty getting them all in place again. It was really a ticklish situation: here was a drunken, over-communicative British soldier in the house of a German suspect, and the town only too willing to jump at conclusions about spies. As soon as was possible we got him out of the house. He lingered on the threshold and asked us if we would please be so very kind enough as please to tell him where he could find the nearest "pub," please, for he wanted to have "just one more dripk under the old flag." We directed him to the corner saloon, whose lights we could see shining clear across the road, and told him the name he would find above the door, which was by the nicest of life's little ironies: "The Old King of Prussia."

There was another thing going on: the small boys parading the streets. They went around in groups of anywhere between five and twenty, in imitation of the troops of soldiers seen in the pavements so often these days. There were always some tin pans, which the diminutive drummers beat with more enthusiasm than regularity. The brightly coloured newspaper bulletins were requisitioned to make paper hats, to make conspicuous yellow belts, or even leggings. It was a quaint sight to see a pair of dirty feet protruding from underneath some of these improvised leg coverings. They marched about the streets and armed

themselves with wooden swords. I was walking down Oxford Street when I saw a small crowd gathered at the end of one of the narrow alleys which lead off to the south. There was one of these curious brigades of boys marching about ; carrying flags of various nationalities. They had a big British flag ;, one of their number carried a tattered Tri-Colour, there was also a Belgian ensign. Almost the smallest lad of the lot carried a splintered piece of lathe, to the top of which was fastened—with the wrong end to the pole—the Stars and Stripes. The flag was dirty, it was attached so as to fly in the wrong manner, but my heart went out to the little fellow who bore it. So I stopped to see what was going on. As I watched, they gathered in a group; and by common consent their colours were placed against a corner of the buildings. The party divided in two equal parts : one assuming a strategic position for defence by some steps which they thought needed defending, the other preparing for a desperate and vigorous assault. Quiet settled upon the field of battle, broken only by excited whisperings among the aggressors, as they discussed the best methods of attack. After judicious disposition of the forces, actual fighting began. A rush, a shouting of war cries, and the armies were engaged! Wooden sword clashed on wooden sword, hilts were broken and lay in splinters on the pavement, and those chaps who had been touched in a vital spot by their opponents' weapons had good grace enough to fall prone on the ground and pretend to be dead. Shortly, the attacking forces gathered up their dead and retired. I must admit, though, that none of the wounds were really mortal, that the wounded recovered at a touch, and that enemies and friends gathered in a pleasant

group with smiles on their faces, preparatory to passing around some grimy caps and begging ha'pennies from the lookers on. And all this was very amusing to the crowd which had assembled to watch the fun. But no one saw in it the militaristic education of future generations. No one thought that the very soldiers whom these youngsters were imitating, the very soldiers, the pictures of whose last march through London streets were being flashed on the screen in so many "cinema" shows, were even then perhaps facing the inhuman modern war machinery.

Beyond these significant little adventures which were it is true, rather mild, but might have been more troublesome, there was another fact which was continually being brought to our attention. The cry of "Carry On" resulted in keeping the great mass of Englishmen from being interested in the war. Oxford, Glasgow, Liverpool which I visited on business at this time, gave no sign that the nation was at war. The river saw the same sights at Hampton, Kew, Staines, Windsor, Datchet and Henley as it had before the war: "trippers" out for a holiday with their tea baskets. For the River, if you must know, is an established English institution, almost as sacred as the Museum, the Bank and the Constitution itself. It is really quite the thing to acquire some tea-cups and a copy of *Three Men in a Boat* and to spend your half-holidays, your bank holidays, and your Sundays on the River. Pulling the oars of a long skiff, skipping about in a trim canoe, or poling your way in a flat-bottom, snub-nose punt—you have a good time of it. Then, when the stomach cries out for food, you tie to a convenient willow and open the tea-basket, start the spirit-lamp, spill the jam in the sugar and the salt on the cake,

drop the fruit in the mud and the bread into the Thames backwater and eventually have a jolly little meal. The only spot to mar the happiness of the occasion is a spot of jam—on your clean flannels. All this went on as usual, as did the other mild amusements. The members of the middle class continued to frequent the long aisles of Kew Gardens, where

“You may wander hand in hand

With love in summer’s wonderland.”

The upper classes may be represented by a group of five healthy, athletic young fellows at a week-end party in Surrey whom I found—when I had just left agonized France—loafing about the lawn in summer clothes and playing of all the games in the world,—croquet! These things were the result of the ministerial injunction to “Carry On” and are representative of the first phase.

Yet time passed and things changed. “The Charge of the Light Brigade” was not so much a glorified blunder as it was sign and symbol of a typical British mistake of putting too few men in the field. What had been demonstrated at Balaklava and Ladysmith and Waterloo, what was to be re-iterated in the naval battle of the South Pacific, at the Dardanelles and in Mesopotamia, was forcibly brought home to the strategists, the statesmen and the people in the defeats at Mons and Charleroi which were then called “glorious retreats.” If General French’s was not an “insignificant little army” as the German high command remarked, it was at least little. The arrival of the wounded, the casualty reports, the loss of Antwerp, the excitement of Zeppelin nights and the bombardment of Scarborough actually brought the war home to the nation

as a whole. Thereafter it was their war. Soon each Britisher was becoming concerned about "doing his bit" as the phrase went.

Then really began the second phase. Under the broad clauses of "The Defence of the Realm Act", restrictions were put upon lighting the streets and houses, regulations were devised to limit traffic in alcoholic drinks, and enlistment began in real earnest. The second phase extends up to the present day and will probably continue until the end of the war. There is scant need to be chronological in discussing it for the general tendencies causing it have combined almost without interruption.

The chief activity of all this period has been the creation of an army to replace that almost annihilated in the opening engagements of the struggle. One of the many posters may be taken as an example. It shows a dispatch rider dismounting from a motorcycle. His head is bandaged, there is a worried look of excitement on his face as he sweeps his arm in the direction of a red horizon which represents the battle front. Above in bold letters are the words he is presumed to be speaking:

"Send More Men".

The army, the politicians, the labor leaders, the bar, the church, the women themselves have united in urging this appeal upon the "conscientious objectors", "slackers", and the dilatory ones. Huge recruiting meetings rival the ingenuity and effectiveness of the real Billy Sunday and of Harold Frederick's fictitious Brother Soulsby, in drawing people forward, not for the salvation of souls, but for the sacrifice of lives.

The colonies heard the call and sent their contingents overseas. And the wounded from these contingents on convalescent leave dot the pavements of Piccadilly with large strong men from splendid outdoor life who loom large beside the smaller Tommies from the British Isles. Khaki predominates. The plumber's apprentice salutes on Charing Cross Road the former Oxford Don just graduated from the Inns of Court Officers' Training Corps. Twice did Christmas and Boxing Day come round again, and each time all the theatres were opened and the pantomimes performed on the plea that these wounded and the men home on leave should be given legitimate amusement. The plays tended to dwell on the patriotic: the Union Jack was frequently unfurled in the *Revue*s: Bernhardt came across the channel to show the unconquerable spirit of France: Vesta Tilly donned khaki and sang:

"It's all right now

There's no need to worry any more.

I joined the army yesterday,

So the army of to-day's all right."

But if the red coats of Hyde Park were supplanted by the khaki blouses on active service, if the little cap of the Tommy gave way to the befeathered hats of the Australians and New Zealanders, there was yet something more than the mere superficial pictorial effect. Life had an increased seriousness. Women got over laughing at the novelty of being bus conductors and settled down in earnest. The curious little coffee shops and lounges in the City slowly closed up, and their affectionate waitresses began to construct shells and cartridges to be used on the Somme or on

the Meuse. Factories ceased making elevators and farming tools and were incorporated into a vast organization under the Minister of Munitions. A swimming club which had been meeting regularly and holding competitions in the Serpentine curtailed its activities because its younger members were at the Front and many of its older members were working overtime making munitions.

The town itself has changed. There are fewer taxicabs: there are fewer busses: there are fewer tube trains: the service is discontinued earlier in the evening. Kerbs and little isles-of-safety along the roadways are painted white so that the absence of illumination on account of Zeppelins shall not cause accidents. To ride atop a bus down Marylebone Road where the street lamps are painted with light tints is like passing between rows of Chinese lanterns. On other streets, the black or dark green paint on similar lamps reminds one of the shades for electric lights on the library table. The Zeppelin attacks are, of course, only occasional events provocative of curiosity and an almost holiday excitement. People rush for taxis and try to find where the hits were made. But these attacks have been so few that only a small number of holes in the paving stones or shattered cornices here and there stand as testimony of the air raids of the Teuton. Yet, these same attacks cause brilliant display for fifteen minutes early every evening while the searchlights at practice send their long arms of white sweeping across the clouds. Except for these things, the last two winters in London have been nearly the same as in former days: fog, damp, dirt and the thin city mud predominating over all the scene.

In the intimate life of the families, however, there has been a decided change. Some people at Henley have sent a father and a brother to posts "somewhere in France", and the mother and sister at home have been continuous in their aid to Belgian refugees. Just as in London nearly every square is used for drilling, we find the military people there at Henley too. On the river, where punts and row-boats used to float, the engineers build pontoon bridges; in the field where the grandstand for the boat race formerly stood, are the tents of Kitchener's army in training for the Front. There are, thankfully, almost no Americans about; they would be disappointed to see the tombs in the Abbey piled high with protecting sandbags against Zeppelin bombs. The only Americans I saw in my whole stay were Colonel House and his wife whom I met at Lady Paget's one day for lunch. I visited a family in Lewisham which had sent one son to the Front and had another in Serbia with the British Red Cross. I visited another family in Maida Vale and found that, though the father, an unnaturalized German had been interned in Bombay where he was on business when war broke out, yet the two sons were with the "first hundred thousand" in France. I visited yet another family and learned that the daughter had just married an Englishman, who, returning from Buenos Ayres, had enlisted and gone to the trenches in Artois immediately after his marriage. Everywhere I found it the same. The people have indeed discovered that this is their war. No longer are they content to leave the campaigns to the administration and to "carry on" in their own usual activities. They criticize the Government; they find fault with the Ministry: *The Daily Mail* and *The Times* rave in excited tones;

the war is an intimate thing in which every one is concerned. As Bacon would say, it has come home to the business and bosoms of men.

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

*Farrington Square,
London.*

REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

He has passed beyond the gunshot of his foemer.
Beyond the wild confusion and the pain
He has won the peace he loved so well, and no man
Can tell, perhaps, how great to him the gain
You would not call him back !

He who loved the quiet ways of life, heard Duty
Forever calling not to be denied
So he left the work he loved, the joy, the beauty
Made the great sacrifice—cast all aside
And like a hero died
You would not call him back !

B. M. WILLS.

A NOVEL METHOD OF REDEMPTION OF LAND REVENUE WITH A SYSTEM OF FINANCING INDUSTRIES.

THE fact of accumulation of interest, how rapidly it increases with time, does not seem to be fully realised by the public, and in this connection I shall relate an incident which shows how this fact of accumulation of interest can be turned into profitable account in the interests of the Government as well as the people.

Talking over the question of interest, how rapidly it accumulates, a Marwari spoke to me one day thus, "Rai Sahib, just guess what one rupee will become in 100 years if interest at 12% per annum be compounded yearly." "Well," I said, "I do not know; perhaps Rs. 100". "No" replied my friend, "more near a lakh than a hundred". "All right," I said, let me calculate". I looked up the formula for compound interest, and found that

$$M = P \left(1 + \frac{r}{100}\right)^n$$

where M = total amount

P = principal

r = rate of interest per cent per annum

n = number of years, or periods at which it
• is to be compounded.

Taking $P = 1$

$$r = 12$$

$$n = 100$$

we get $\log M = \log P + n (\log 1.12)$

$$\therefore \log M = \log 1 + 100 (\log 1.12),$$

$$\log 1.12 = .04922$$

$$\therefore 100 \log 1.12 = 4.922$$

and since $\log 1 = 0$

$$\therefore \log M = 4.922, \therefore M = 83660$$

I was surprised at the result. Then I thought I might work the problem, if the interest was compounded half yearly. That means there will be 200 half-yearlies, r being 6.

$$\text{Hence } \log M = 200 \log 1.06$$

$$= 5.062, \therefore M = 115,500$$

I was astounded at these figures, and I gave full credit to my friend the Marwari.

REDEMPTION OF LAND REVENUE.

I did not, however, stop here. I worked out a table marked A for 100 years of what one rupee will amount to at rates varying from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 per cent. interest being compounded half-yearly. Another table marked B. is similarly worked out with interest compounded yearly. Now I give a novel solution of the *Land Revenue* and the *Industrial Problems* as follows :—

First of all I propose that the period of settlement be fixed at 30 years, and let the Government make a rule that after 30 years the Revenue will increase by 25 per cent. This was the tenor of Lord Curzon's policy. •

Taking for granted that the Government agrees to these two fundamental principles, let a rule be made that any one paying 30 years' Revenue beforehand will be eligible for exemption from Revenue for ever. This money

should be paid into the Banks of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras which are semi-Government institutions, or with the Government Central Bank, which might be instituted as recommended by the Finance Commission. These Banks will with the interest of the money be able to pay the Government Revenue regularly on these terms, the interest being reckoned at 4% per annum compounded yearly as I have worked out in a pass book form for three periods of 30 years each (see table C.) This will enable the Government Banks to be in a position to finance industries extensively.

This proposal is made to avoid the worry and expense of making periodical settlements, and the trouble and suspense of yearly collections, and will also tend to place the wealth of the country in profitable investment. It will be observed from these calculations that the capital, after paying regular instalments of Revenue, doubles after 70 years and the revenue increases by leaps and bounds as the following calculations will show:—

	Rs.	Rs.	A.	P.
After 30 years one rupee will become ...	1'25	or	1	4 0
„ 60 „ „ „ „ ...	1'56	or	1	9 0
„ 90 „ „ „ „ ...	1'95	or	1	15 2
„ 120 „ „ „ „ ...	2'44	or	2	7 0
„ 150 „ „ „ „ ...	3'04	or	3	0 8

It may be noted that in British India alone the increase of population in thirty years from 1881 to 1911 has gone up from 199 millions to 244 millions which means an increase of 23 per cent. While we may reasonably look forward to the expansion of the cropped area and to increase in the yield of land, yet there is a limit to both these

sources of increase, but there is no limit to increase of population. Hence it is absolutely necessary that a portion of the population should now be directed to industries, but no industries can prosper without capital, and this method which I propose is a very good way of financing the banks so as to enable them to finance the industries.

I have one other proposal to make in this connection of banking *i. e.*, these banks should, in future, take deposits at 4% compound interest (half-yearly compounded, if possible, as per table A) and give depositors a cash certificate, somewhat in the form of the postal certificates recently issued by Government for the War Loan, payable after 5 years or any multiple of 5 years for the sum calculated on this table. I know from personal knowledge that people will give large deposits for various purposes, for instance, provision for children, endowments etc., if they are quite sure that they get compound interest without any trouble.

This system can be profitably adopted for establishing a Provident Fund, thus:—

Take the case of a civilian for instance, who has to serve 35 years in the country. Divide his term into 7 periods of 5 years each and supposing he can save

during the first period (a) Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 1,000 per annum.

„	second „	(b)	„	10,000 or	„	2,000	„
„	third „	(c)	„	15,000 or	„	3,000	„
„	fourth „	(d)	„	20,000 or	„	4,000	„
„	fifth „	(e)	„	25,000 or	„	5,000	„
„	sixth „	(f)	„	30,000 or	„	6,000	„
„	seventh „	(g)	„	30,000 or	„	6,000	„

Total payments ... 135,000

(a)	will become at the end of his service for $32\frac{1}{2}$ years		
	as per table A	...	Rs. 18,225
(b)	will become at the end of his service, for $27\frac{1}{2}$ years		
	as per table A	...	Rs. 29,900
(c)	will become at the end of his service, for $22\frac{1}{2}$ years		
	as per table A	...	Rs. 36,450
(d)	will become at the end of his service, for $17\frac{1}{2}$ years		
	as per table A	...	Rs. 40,200
(e)	will become at the end of his service, for $12\frac{1}{2}$ years		
	as per table A	...	Rs. 41,250
(f)	will become at the end of his service, for $7\frac{1}{2}$ years		
	as per table A	...	Rs. 40,800
(g)	will become at the end of his service, for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years		
	as per table A	...	Rs. 33,600
Total			<u>Rs. 240,425</u>

Thus the civilian will take home a very respectable sum of about Rs. 240,000 which will add to his pension another Rs. 10,000 a year, with this difference that this ten thousand will be for ever, and not end with his life.

TABLE A.—Showing what one rupee will amount to at the end of different periods at various rates of interest compounded half yearly.

At the end of	at 3½ per cent.	at 4 per cent.	at 4½ per cent.	at 5 per cent.	at 5½ per cent.	at 6 per cent.	at 6½ per cent.	at 7 per cent.	at 7½ per cent.	at 8 per cent.
5 years	1'16	1'23	1'25	1'28	1'31	1'34	1'38	1'41	1'44	1'48
10 "	1'34	1'49	1'56	1'64	1'72	1'80	1'89	1'99	2'08	2'19
15 "	1'56	1'81	1'95	2'09	2'25	2'43	2'61	2'80	3'02	3'24
20 "	1'81	2'22	2'44	2'68	2'96	3'27	3'59	3'96	4'36	4'80
25 "	2'10	2'69	3'04	3'44	3'88	4'39	4'95	5'58	6'30	7'11
30 "	2'44	3'29	3'80	4'40	5'09	5'90	6'80	7'87	9'09	10'5
35 "	2'83	4'00	4'75	5'03	6'68	7'92	9'37	11'1	13'1	15'6
40 "	3'28	4'87	5'92	7'20	8'76	10'6	12'9	15'7	19'0	23'0
45 "	3'81	5'95	7'40	9'22	11'5	14'3	17'8	22'0	27'4	34'1
50 "	4'46	7'25	9'25	11'8	15'1	19'3	24'4	31'12	39'7	50'5
100 "	19'5	52'5	85'5	139	227	370	598	969	1570	2550

TABLE B.—Showing what one rupee will amount to at the end of different periods at various rates of interest (compounded yearly.)

At the end of	at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	at 4	at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	at 5	at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	at 6	at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	at 7	at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	at 8
5 years	1'19	1'21	1'25	1'27	1'31	1'34	1'37	1'40	1'43	1'47
10 "	1'41	1'48	1'55	1'63	1'72	1'79	1'87	1'96	2'06	2'16
15 "	1'67	1'80	1'93	2'08	2'26	2'40	2'57	2'76	2'96	3'17
20 "	1'99	2'19	2'41	2'65	2'97	3'21	3'52	3'87	4'25	4'66
25 "	2'36	2'67	3'00	3'39	3'90	4'29	4'83	5'42	6'10	6'85
30 "	2'81	3'24	3'74	4'32	5'12	5'75	6'61	7'61	8'75	10'05
35 "	3'33	3'94	4'66	5'51	6'71	7'69	9'06	10'7	12'6	14'8
40 "	3'94	4'80	5'81	7'04	8'83	10'3	12'4	15'0	18'0	21'7
45 "	4'70	5'84	7'24	8'99	11'6	13'7	17'0	21'0	25'9	31'9
50 "	5'58	7'11	9'03	11'5	15'2	18'4	23'3	29'5	37'1	46'9
100 "	31'1	50'5	81'5	132'0	231'8	340'0	542'6	867'0	2198'0	2200'0

TABLE C.—Taking a concrete example of 100 acres
paying Rs. 3 per acre.

Year.	Capital.	Revenue.	Balance.	Interest at 4 %	Capital forward.
1	9,000	300	8,700	348	9,048
2	9,048	300	8,748	350	9,098
3	9,098	300	8,798	352	9,150
4	9,150	300	8,850	354	9,204
5	9,204	300	8,904	356	9,260
6	9,260	300	8,960	358	9,318
7	9,318	300	9,018	360	9,378
8	9,378	300	9,078	363	9,441
9	9,441	300	9,141	366	9,507
10	9,507	300	9,207	368	9,575
11	9,575	300	9,275	371	9,646
12	9,646	300	9,346	374	9,720
13	9,720	300	9,420	377	9,797
14	9,797	300	9,497	380	9,877
15	9,877	300	9,577	383	9,960
16	9,960	300	9,660	386	10,046
17	10,046	300	9,746	390	10,136
18	10,136	300	9,836	393	10,229

TABLE C.—*contd.*

Year.	Capital.	Revenue.	Balance.	Interest at 4 %	Capital forward.
19	10,229	300	9,929	397	10,326
20	10,326	300	10,026	401	10,427
21	10,427	300	10,127	405	10,532
22	10,532	300	10,232	409	10,641
23	10,641	300	10,341	414	10,755
24	10,755	300	10,455	418	10,873
25	10,873	300	10,573	422	10,995
26	10,995	300	10,695	427	11,122
27	11,122	300	10,822	433	11,255
28	11,255	300	10,955	438	11,393
29	11,393	300	11,093	444	11,537
30	11,537	300	11,237	450	11,687
31	11,687	375	11,312	452	11,764
32	11,764	375	11,389	456	11,845
33	11,845	375	11,470	459	11,929
34	11,929	375	11,554	462	12,016
35	12,016	375	11,641	466	12,107
36	12,107	375	11,732	469	12,201
37	12,201	375	11,826	473	12,299

TABLE C--*contd.*

Year.	Capital.	Revenue.	Balance.	Interest at 4 %	Capital forward.
38	12,299	375	11,924	476	12,400
39	12,400	575	12,025	481	12,506
40	12,506	375	12,131	485	12,616
41	12,616	375	12,241	490	12,731
42	12,731	375	12,356	494	12,850
43	12,850	375	12,475	499	12,974
44	12,974	375	12,599	504	13,103
45	13,103	375	12,728	509	13,237
46	13,237	375	12,862	514	13,376
47	13,376	375	13,001	520	13,521
48	13,521	375	13,146	526	13,672
49	13,672	375	13,297	532	13,829
50	13,829	375	13,454	538	13,992
51	13,992	375	13,617	545	14,162
52	14,162	375	13,787	551	14,338
53	14,338	375	13,963	558	14,521
54	14,421	375	14,146	566	14,712
55	14,712	375	14,337	573	14,910
56	14,910	375	14,535	581	15,116

TABLE C.—*contd.*

Year.	Capital.	Revenue.	Balance.	Interest at 4 %	Capital forward.
57	15,116	375	14,741	589	15,330
58	15,330	375	14,955	598	15,553
59	15,553	375	15,178	607	15,785
60	15,785	375	15,410	616	16,026
61	16,026	469	15,557	622	16,179
62	16,179	469	15,710	628	16,338
63	16,338	469	15,869	635	16,504
64	16,504	469	16,035	641	16,676
65	16,676	469	16,207	648	16,855
66	16,855	469	16,386	655	17,041
67	17,041	469	16,572	662	17,234
68	17,234	469	16,765	670	17,435
69	17,435	469	16,966	678	17,644
70	17,644	469	17,175	687	17,862
71	17,862	469	17,393	695	18,088
72	18,088	469	17,619	704	18,323
73	18,323	469	17,854	714	18,568
74	18,568	469	18,099	724	18,823
75	18,823	469	18,354	734	19,088

TABLE C.—*concl'd.*

Year.	Capital.	Revenue.	Balance.	Interest at 4 %	Capital forward.
76	19,088	469	18,619	745	19,364
77	19,364	469	18,895	756	19,651
78	19,651	469	19,182	767	19,949
79	19,949	469	19,480	779	20,259
80	20,259	469	19,790	791	20,581
81	20,581	469	20,112	804	20,916
82	20,916	469	20,447	818	21,265
83	21,265	469	20,796	832	21,628
84	21,628	469	21,159	846	22,005
85	22,005	469	21,536	861	22,397
86	22,397	469	21,928	877	22,805
87	22,805	469	22,336	893	23,229
88	23,229	469	22,760	910	23,670
89	23,670	469	23,201	928	24,129
90	24,129	469	23,660	946	24,606

GANGA RAM.

Simla.

THE KIKAR TREE

FROM

Bhai Veer Singh.

I grow upward, my march is heavenward,
 My face is turned to the God of the skies!
 Nor village, nor city, nor palace, nor hut I need in this
 world of thine, O world!
 I am he who can pass his days without a roof on his
 head, in rain, sunshine, hail and storm.
 I love to look at the God of the skies,
 I need but a small piece of ground for my roots just to
 stand, to blossom, to fructify and die!
 I need no raiment nor food from thee, O world!
 The rain-water is enough for me,
 I drink and I grow.
 I live on air, I desire naught,
 I am all alone in myself, the ascetic of centuries past
 and the ascetic of the centuries yet to come!
 And even for me, O world!
 Thou hast but an axe.

(Translated from the Punjabi original)

PURAN SINGH.

IN THE VAN OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

WHILE the Empire awaits the passing into law of the Registration Bill, that Bill, which embodies the emancipation of women in Great Britain, it is well to realize, in how large a part of the Empire's Dominions women have exercised the Parliamentary Vote. In New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Nova Scotia, women have proved that they have shared the Government. Without any of the gigantic evils, which were so confidently prophesied, having come to pass.

No joy will be deeper or congratulations more sympathetic than those which greet the women of Great Britain on the attainment of political status, than those which come from New Zealand and Australia. New Zealand is in the van of the movement. She has practised the vote for 24 years, a few facts will shew how she won this position.

It is a mistake to represent that Women's Suffrage was brought about in New Zealand suddenly, or as it were by accident. The women of New Zealand did not, as has sometimes been said, wake up one fine morning in 1893, and find themselves enfranchised. Sustained, self-sacrificing, painstaking, and well-organised work for Women's Suffrage has been going on in the Colony for many years.

See *Outlines of the Women's Franchise Movement in New Zealand*, by W. Sydney Smith. Whitcombe and Tombs, Ltd., Christ church, N. Z. 1905.

The germ of it may be traced even as early as 1843, and many of the most distinguished men whose names are connected with New Zealand history as true empire-builders have been identified with the movement, including Mr. John Ballance, Sir Julius Vogel, Sir R. Stout, Sir John Hall and Sir George Grey. It is curious that Mr. Richard Seddon under whose Premiership Women's Suffrage was finally carried, was not at that time (1893) a believer in it. He was a Thomas who had to see before he could believe, but when he had once had experience of Women's Suffrage, he was unwearied in proclaiming his confidence in it. When he was in England in 1902 for King Edward's coronation he hardly ever spoke in public without bearing his testimony to the success of Women's Suffrage.

Much good seed had been sown in New Zealand by Mrs. Müller an English lady who landed in Nelson, in 1850. One of her articles, signed "Femina," (*she was obliged to preserve her anonymity for reasons of domestic tranquility), won the attention of John Stuart Mill, and drew from him a most encouraging letter and the gift of his book, "The Subjection of Women." Mrs. Müller died in 1902, and thus had the opportunity of seeing in operation for nearly ten years, the successful working of the reform for which she had been one of the earliest workers. An American lady Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt, visited New Zealand in 1885 on behalf of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Mrs. Leavitt was a great organiser and arranged the whole of the work of the Temperance Union in definite "Departments," and a general superintendent was appointed for each. There was a Franchise Department, the general

superintendent of which was Mrs. Sheppard, who, from 1887, became an indefatigable and at the same time, a sensible and cautious worker for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women.

She was in communication with Sir John Hall and other Parliamentary leaders, and kept in close touch with the whole movement until it was successful.

Just as it is now in England with us, differences arose among New Zealand suffragists as to how much suffrage women ought to have, or at any rate, how much would it be wise to ask, and the parties were called the "half-loafers" and the "whole loafers."

The "no bread" party watched these differences just as they do in England, and tried unsuccessfully to profit by them in the debate upon Sir John Hall's Women's Suffrage resolution in 1890, Mr. W. Reeves, so long known in England as the Agent-General for New Zealand, and later as the Director of the London School of Economics and also an excellent friend of Women's Suffrage, announced himself to be a "half-loafer"; indeed he advocated the restriction of the franchise to such women, over twenty-one years of age, who had passed the matriculation examination of the university. There is an Arabic proverb to the effect that the world is divided into three classes—"the immovable, the movable, and those who actually move." It is unwise to despair of the conversion of any anti-suffragist unless he has proved himself to belong to the "immovables." In 1890 Mr. Reeves, now so good a suffragist, had only advanced to the point of advocating the enfranchisement of university women. His proposal for a high educational

test for women did not meet with support. It was rejected by more robust suffragists as "not even half a loaf, only a ginger-nut." The anti-suffragists used the same arguments which they use with us. They professed themselves to be intimately acquainted with the views of the Almighty on the question of women voting. "It was contrary to the ordinance of God;" women politicians were represented as driving a man from his home because it would be infested "with noisy and declamatory women." After the Bill had passed both Houses a solemn petition was presented by anti-suffragists, who were members of the Legislative Council, asking the Governor to withhold his assent on the ground that it "would seriously affect the rights of property and embarrass the finances of the Colony, thereby injuriously affecting the public creditor." Others protested that it was self-evident that women's suffrage must lead to domestic discord and the neglect of home life. Of course all the anti-suffragists were certain that women did not want the Vote, and would not use it even if it were granted to them.

The French gentleman who called himself Max O'Rell was touring New Zealand at the time, and deplored that one of the fairest spots on God's earth was going to be turned into a howling wilderness by women's suffrage. Mr. Goldwin Smith wrote that he gave women's suffrage ten years in New Zealand, and by that time it would have wrought such havoc with the home and domestic life that the best minds in the country would be devising means of getting rid of it. A New Zealand gentleman, named Bakewell, wrote an article in "the Nineteenth Century" for February, 1894 containing a terrible jeremiad about the melancholy results to be expected in the Dominion from women's suffrage.

The last words of his article were, " We shall probably be for some years to come a dreadful object lesson to the rest of the British Empire." This was the prophecy. What have the facts been* ? New Zealand *has* become an object lesson,—an object lesson of faithful membership of the Imperial group, a daughter State of which the Mother Country is intensely proud. Does not everybody know that New Zealand is prosperous and loyal to the throne and race to which she owes her origin.

New Zealand was the first British Colony to enfranchise her women, and was also the first British Colony to send her sons to stand side by side with the sons of Great Britain in the battle-fields of South Africa ; she was also the first British Colony to cable the offer of a battleship to the Mother Country in the spring of 1909. She with Australia, was the first part of the British Empire to devise and carry out a truly national system of defence, seeking the advice of the first military expert of the Mother Country, Lord Kitchener, to help them to do it on efficient lines. The women are demanding that they should do their share in the great national work of defence by undergoing universal ambulance training. New Zealand and Australia have, since they adopted women's suffrage inaugurated many important social and economic reforms among which may be mentioned wages boards—the principle of the minimum wage applied to women as well as to men—and the establishment of children's courts for juvenile offenders. They have also purged their laws of some of the worst of the enactments injurious to women. If it were needed to rebut the preposterous nonsense urged by anti-suffragists in New Zealand against

* See Report by Sir Charles Lucas, who visited New Zealand on behalf of the Colonial Office in 1907."

women's suffrage eighteen years ago, it is sufficient to quote the unemotional terms of the cable which appeared from New Zealand in the *Times* of July 28, 1911 :—

"The testimony concerning the practical working of women's suffrage in Australia and New Zealand is all of one kind. It may be summarised in a single sentence, "Not one of the evils so confidently predicted of it has actually happened?" The effect on home life is universally said to have been good. The birth rate in New Zealand has steadily increased since 1899, and it has now, the lowest infantile mortality in the world. To give full citizenship to women deepens in them the sense of responsibility, and they will be more likely to apply to their duties a quickened intelligence and a higher sense of the importance of the work entrusted to them as women. "The free woman makes the best wife and the most careful mother."

FRANCES S. HALLOWES.

'SAADI THE DWARF.'

Earth's glorious dome was Heaven's crystal sea

The ghostly desert under it fine gold :

That bitter sweet pretence to you and me,

With its opacous ripples fold on fold,

Now flaming red, then sallow, drab, and cold.

The grave of many plans, that might have been

Temples of Praise ; vain dreams perchance they were

Silence and Time have stolen ; yet unseen

Their faint vibration trembles in the air

As music will, its spirit hovering there.

So winds sing to it, out of space or tomb,

In which the fairy Echo dwells from choice,

And oft dispels what some might call the gloom

With the enchantment of her mocking voice;

Whose soul impalpable—I bid rejoice.

Illusive emptiness ! here finely spun

In opal mists o'er wastes of barren earth,

Thy sad, strange beauty, yet, what hast thou done

To be bereft of power, to bring the birth,

Or fill the grape to its empurpl'd girth ?

Thou playground of the storm, the school of Death
Who watches men bribe fear with fervent prayer,
Importune Allah, name Him in a breath,
It has been said they might—nay—leave their care
To Him the Merciful, both here, and there.

As heart's pulsations cease. Day's amber flame
Is aureoled in the west, whose burning height
Fades slowly into dust ; two palms remain
Like half forgotten sentinels—till Night
Calls from the sabled east the Queen of light.

Now scarcely luminous--barr'd by the plain
Beyond the age-worn Fort, where twilight falls,
And touches with a magic wand again,
Its wind-swept battlements and empty halls—
Amid the greenish grey of broken walls.

There, as a pylon loom'd the lofty door,
Through which the victors and the vanquish'd came—
Yet such detach themselves, they are no more :
Mid this vast stillness, what a breath is Fame ?
Yea, far off Karnak murmurs—but a name !

Often for tyrants, Empires long since dead,
Those bygone worlds, whose history's a dream
Of victory and blood, and where I read
Strength was the god ; Barbarity the theme
That poets chanted to Nile's mighty stream.

Though one sang songs of love, as if by chance,
Or as a foil to Ramessu the Great,
It soothed the singer, for he looked askance,
So much the King desired to outwit Fate
In words that moderns call—'a song of Hate' !

Which claims its opposite, so thought Pentaur,
And then he did a very risky thing,
Loved Bent-Anat, a Priestess too, nay more—
The stately sister of the fighting King,
Pentaur Court-poet, and obliged to sing

Of Ramessu ; with here a verse or two
Which even makes the granite feel less cold ;
The wise translated it—they would imbue
My mind with legends in their Temple told,
And some were beautiful, and some were bold.

Karnak ! in pillar'd columns where light streams
Upon Time's altar,—all thou hast is thine ;
The blood of slaves thy sunset—dust thy dreams—
Burnt as the hills of Thebes, that blaze, and shine
Above embalmed Pharoahs, half divine.

Hidden, within those vast and sculptur'd mines—
The wonder of their tombs, whence men have torn
The grandeur of the dead, their ancient shrines,
The cult of Egypt's mysteries—outworn, !
Now left in sullen apathy to mourn.

Alone in Heaven's deep blue shone one fair star,
Golden Canopas—gloriously rayed,—
It caught the surface of a scimitar

Held by a dwarf, who, genuflection made
With Eastern courtesy; and then he stayed

Fixed as a gargoyle—and like it—man's work
Who height had turn'd to breadth, thus falsely bred,
Grotesquely so—I thought some virile Turk

Had bought him for his harem, where he led
A life uneasy; 'Saidch Sitt,' he said.

'May peace be with you', had I answer'd him,—
Discerning in the shade an oval face
Of Nature's handiwork, pale, restful, thin,
Thereat I marvell'd musing on the grace
That made this tortur'd frame its dwelling place.

He smiled with gravity, and then replied —
Responsive to my thought, "Should all joy cease
Through loss of outward shape ? Does it too hide
Gifts that the gods have lent,—and can increase—
To feed the soul until it finds release ?

'Beloved of the Immortals,' cannot mean
A gorgeous presence, for, if born a King,
The name adorns the *man*, naught comes between
That and his dignity : Here lies the sting—
The 'Great Ones' hold his heart the Royal thing."

And then he paused, but yet his silence spake,
 So abject was his presence that it seem'd
 To hold me captive, ere I could retake

The aid of wisdom—little had I dream'd
 What tragedies the haunted ruin screen'd.

'You still,' said he, 'can look upon my face,
 All else revolts you; yet no thought of scorn
 I saw upon your own, and could not trace

A pain'd contempt for one who was not born,
 Devoid of Nature's gifts, but—just forlorn.!

The poor are thus; perhaps in this there lies

A bitterness too great for love to stay,
 While pain shows quickly in the children's eyes

Whose mother left them on their natal day—
 As mine did—like a flower she passed away.—

Leaving a useless life to those who hoard;
 It dream'd in silence; women, work by stealth,
 So many hours I lay upon a board
 Where nails tormented—if I stretch'd in health
 How feeble justice! unsustained by wealth.

They studied me that tribe upon the plain—
 Where Cyrus slept within his golden tomb;
 Till thieves despoil'd it, so he pray'd in vain
 His dust might rest until the day of doom—
 Rose tinted by the sun—star-lit in gloom.*

* Alexander the Great found the body of the King upon the floor, and the lid of the golden coffin stolen with other ornaments. He ordered the Persian inscription to be recut in Greek letters, it is not quite the same but is as follows:—

"O thou, whosoever Thou art, and whosoever thou comest (for I know thou wilt come) I am Cyrus the founder of the Persian Empire.
 Grudge me not therefore this little earth that covers my body".

We will not speak of Cyrus. Noble man !

No need to tell thee where our hero lies—
Between Shiraz marching to Ispahan,
And rough the road is under winter skies,
The great high-way, where the old nomad dies !

Years passed, at length a move, and I the least,
The victim of their cruelty and crime;
Was sold propitiously to an old priest;
I fear'd !—but sought his eyes, he bent on mine
A glance that thrill'd me, tender and benign.

My mind so ignorant, would find the key
That Wisdom hides in knowledge, which the priest
Had search'd for, found, the way he shew'd to me;
Vain idleness was banished, worlds released—
While Kings and Poets graced our mental feast.

In Shiraz once I walked, my Imam read
The Surahs of the fast,—I heard a laugh
Of cruel derision ; groups of children led
By a grown youth—rush'd shouting ' Here's the dwarf
The ugly, crooked thing, they call a dwarf.'

Quickly I turned—as one who wounded, reels
Seeking a shelter, then I press'd for home,
A pelting crowd still thronging at my heels
Till the gate slamm'd, and then I was alone !
Alone with what ! O God could'st Thou atone !

Yes! 'Merciful,' 'Compassionate' Thy names
 Oft I repeat them ; Has it been in vain ?
 Draw my life from me, Thou, whom no one blames—
 Or, let it take some other form again—
 As one who knew the uttermost of pain !

Yet this I knew not—agony of mind :
 What have I done, who ever loved the best ?
 Why must I thus be tortur'd by my kind ?
 And they were suckl'd at a mother's breast,
 A mother's lullaby hush'd them to rest.

My heart throb'd through my brain, pulsed in my throat
 What !—creature loath'd me, even dogs I fed ?—
 'Then Reason left her throne; when I awoke
 Sharp fire and ice seem'd bound about my head—
 Philosophy and knowledge, both were dead !

I cursed them then—and all they ever wrote—
 Till love affright'd entered mid the din,
 Also the nightingale in one sweet note
 From dusky bushes where it used to sing,—
 Flew down on me, *on me*, it preen'd its wing.

Me ! gnarled and knott'd in my brown pelisse;
 Perhaps it did not know ? Had not yet seen ?
 What matter'd since Despair had met with Peace;
 Passion and love divided here the scene—
 Under the quiet stars, with night between.

Finer than air, I felt myself remote

And scarcely breath'd yet dying could forgive—
While ecstasy divine from one small throat

Pour'd blissful harmonies that bade me live;
Since living, is but having aught to give.

The comforter now sought the scented leaves;

I heard a slipper'd step, my Imam came
And stood above me—as a man who grieves—

'Allah the Merciful' is still the same.
Yea, 'God is Great', said I, that is His name.

My son, He lends His greatness in our needs

And maketh all things crook'd into straight,
Thus his compassion every creature feeds
As doth the nightingale its little mate,
From the first glint of light's long hour's—till late.

* * * *

Red Revolution came, we had to fly

With the Khan's people—in a little space
Hunger and thirst we met, then by and by
Reach'd Persia's Gulf where men of your own race
Helped us from sea and land to reach this place.

It is unknown to you—but over there

Steps lead to many rooms below the Fort,
They face the ravine so have light and air,
And give repose and peace, 'twas all we sought,
So if we find it—not too dearly bought.

Almost before the pensive words were said
 An arrow pierced his breast—cleft it in twain—
 The light leaped in his eyes . Ah ! was he dead ?
 I knelt, my tears fell in his face like rain,
 Above that quiver'ng dart—that crimson stain.

 His gaze still fixed on mine seem'd to expand
 In that last look,—then—faded into rest.
 I sounded an alarm; far o'er the sand
 Two hounds came leaping, Mahmoud on their quest—
 A strange weird sight upon its stony crest.

 Where now dim shadows veil'd the purple skies,—
 Embroider'd sparingly with gleams of light
 Above the ponder'us ramparts, whence the cries
 Of unknown 'habitants mock'd ears and sight
 Peopling with ghosts the horrors of that night.

 We gather'd up—'the little brown pelisse'
 With tenderness, and carried it the way
 Beyond our tents—so there it lies in peace
 While the white moon, around tall palms will play
 About the silver'd rocks, so old, so grey !

 But he sleeps not—whom only winds caress'd,
 For Angels bore him on soft gather'd wings
 To 'God the Merciful.' The ever Blessed
 Assoiled him through His Christ from earthly stings,
 In Paradise, I know he smiles, and sings.

IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN THE PUNJAB.

The palm as benefactors of Punjab Agriculture must first of all be given to the Irrigation Department. Their efforts have led to the 'blossoming of the desert' over millions of acres as described in the June number of "East and West." It is, however, to the efforts of the Agricultural Department of the Punjab founded by Lord Curzon as late as 1905 that the writer would draw attention in the present article. The Punjab or the land of the five rivers is situated in North-East India and has a rainfall of between 35" and 60" on the East, but this rapidly declines as we go westward until at Lyallpur the average is 8" and further west only 6". The area is roughly 89,000 square miles or equal to the area of England, Scotland and Wales. The cultivated area of 45,000 square miles also corresponds closely to that of Great Britain. The Department of Agriculture for this large tract consists of a Director, who also does 'Industries' and 'Munitions' and seven experts, of whom five are employed largely at the Lyallpur Institute and College. There are, besides, some 35 assistants, mostly diplomates from Lyallpur. The total expenditure on the Department amounts to about Rs. 600,000 yearly. While

it must be recognised that the Punjab Government are liberal in meeting the constantly increasing expenditure, the present grant is meagre in comparison with what the Department has already achieved in material improvement, and excessively so, when its future scope and activities are considered broadly.

The activities of the Department in the past and its hopes for the future will be considered under four main heads, *viz* :—I Cotton improvement

II Wheat

III Implements and cultivation.

IV Agricultural Education.

In cotton the outstanding success has been the successful introduction of "American Cotton" in the canal colonies. The area under American cotton in the Punjab this year is estimated at 200,000 acres. It was 120,000 acres in 1916 and 70,000 acres in 1912. In 1911 the area was about 7,000 acres only. Assuming equal yields with India cotton and a premium of 3/- per maund only, both very moderate assumptions, the increased value per acre is 18/- and on the total area 36 lakhs of rupees or £ 240,000 per annum. A brief resume* of the history of the introduction of American or 'Narma' cotton may be of interest. The first mention of American cotton in the Punjab is recorded in 1880 when some seed was indiscriminately distributed. No attempt was made to market separately or to secure better prices and nothing more was heard of American cotton until the time of the Boer war when some 'khaki' coloured American was intro-

* For a fuller account see article by writer in Agricultural Journal for October 1915.

duced. This like the former seed grew all right and may even to-day be seen in small patches here and there all over the colonies. One Irrigation Officer reported recently having seen a patch of over one acre of this cotton—the writer has only come across small patches of $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ acre in size. It is entirely consumed in the villages. In 1902 Mr. Mollinson, the late Inspector-General of Agriculture instituted some experiments at Hissar. The Director of Agriculture—Mr. Renouf, took the matter up and carried out some more trials with Dharwar American from Bombay in 1903. In 1911 he secured with great difficulty and through the efforts of Rai Bahadur Mela Ram of Lahore sufficient seed for half an acre of Punjab "Narma,—the relics of the American cotton seed put out in 1880. From 1905 when the Agricultural Department was formed some American cotton seed was given out to zemindars and a cotton sale was held for the first time. The policy of importing seed from Dharwar, in the south of Bombay, was continued up to 1912 when it was finally discarded as it was found the Punjab produced better seed than what could be imported. The bad boll-worm year of 1911 when a great deal of the Indian cotton was destroyed and when it was noticed American was much more immune to the disease was the first big land mark in the introduction of American cotton.

The area under American 1911 was roughly 7,000 acres. In 1913 it had reached 30,000 acres. The sales held by the Department had continued to expand and in 1912 and 1913 premiums were freely offered for American in the market. In 1913 some 100 acres of 4F American were grown. The area of American in 1914 reached 70,000 acres and maintained itself in 1915 in spite

of the low prices owing to the war, as the premium over Indian cotton was fully maintained and even increased. With the rise of prices in 1915 the area rapidly expanded. Of the total area of 200,000 acres this year about 130,000 acres at least is of the pure 4F¹ variety. The worst mixtures are at present found at 'Jhang' on the Lower Chenab where five years ago the cultivation of American was more extended than in other parts of the colonies.

Future Developments.

It is expected that the total area will in a few years reach between three and four hundred thousand acres. The present type of American grown is valued in Liverpool slightly under 'middling American' but there is good reason to believe that a much superior cotton can be grown in the Punjab, and if experiments continue successfully an effort will be made to put a better type on the market. American cotton is now being tried in practically every cotton district of the Punjab but it is too early as yet to prophesy extensive success though the writer thinks this is assured in the end. Credit for the persistency of the Department's efforts from 1903 to 1910 is largely due to Mr. Renouf who never lost faith in the ultimate triumph of American cotton though many discouragements were met with which damped the enthusiasm of many of us.

Among other possible developments must be considered the possible introduction of Saw Gins in place of the present roller gins universally used. The former are used everywhere in the United States. They cause a large saving of labour and do away with the present unhealthy

conditions for ginning Factory labour. Besides this the grade of the cotton is improved and India can thus compete directly with America, as the English market is accustomed to saw ginned American only.

Wheat.—The wheats growing in the Punjab were classified in a preliminary manner by Howard in 1906. Extended trials of the various kinds have conclusively proved Punjab No. II to be the best yielder for irrigated and well lands. This variety is already grown extensively, but impure, in the colonies. Pure seed is being distributed and already 100,000 acres of pure No. II was grown last year. The area this year is expected to reach 150,000 acres. The extra profit from growing this wheat, which is quite free from barley (a general fault of Punjab wheat) is at least 3/- per acre. Already, therefore, the extra profit is 3 lakhs or £20,000 per annum. With combined efforts on the part of zemindars the area ought to reach well over a million acres in the course of the next 2 or 3 years.

Since Howard's classification many more types have been identified during wheat surveys and are being studied by the Economic Botanist. Some of these are showing signs of being excellent yielders and may in future replace No. II when experiments now in progress have reached a further stage of development. The area under wheat in the Punjab averages 9 million acres and even a small improvement per acre adds enormous wealth to the province.

III. *Implements and improvements in cultivation.*—The subject has since 1905 received constant and unremitting attention. The first success was obtained with the Rajah Reaper manufactured by Messrs John Wallace

and Sons of Glasgow. This implement was perfected and adapted for Punjab conditions by Mr. Milligan in 1905 and 1907. Over 140 are working in the colonies now. From 6 to 7 acres per day is the average work. Recently a modified form with several improvements, the chief of which is increase of gearing and less draught has been under experiment at Lyallpur and may replace the Rajah. It is interesting to note that this implement cost Rs. 255 before the war whereas the implement used by the cultivator, the 'daranti' costs about -/6/-. Experiments are being made with a large number of different kinds of scythes and some promise of success is forthcoming. The latter will not cost more than 10/- and are much more efficient than a sickle. In Europe the scythe gradually replaced the sickle which was in common use 80 and even 60 years ago in some parts of Britain. The Reaper has since replaced scythes over large tracts though among small farmers the scythe is still in common use.

Ploughs.—Some two thousand 'Rajah and Meston' ploughs are in use having been introduced during the last 8 years. The former, however, is expensive and its cost of Rs. 25/- before the war as compared to 4/- for the Indian plough prohibits extensive sales. Recently some very promising improvements have been introduced by the staff at Lyallpur and a new plough called 'The Lyallpur Plough' will soon be on the market. This is much simpler than the Rajah while retaining the essential features of the best inverting ploughs.

Sowing Drills and Intercultivating implements.—These two go together. Broadcast sowing and hand weeding are

a universal feature of Punjab Agriculture. The cost of hand-weeding is becoming more and more costly with the result that it is less done than formerly with a necessary consequence in the increased appearance and spreading of useless weeds. No line of work offers more difficulties and presents greater vistas of development than the devising of cheap and efficient sowing and interculturing implements. To succeed with this means a revolution in Punjab Agriculture and in the general Agriculture routine. No limit can be set to the improvement which the general adoption of such a change will have on the Agriculture of the country. It is a form of Agricultural organisation in its most intimate form. There are many difficulties to be met with, of which untrained cattle and men are not the least. The Lyallpur Drills and Hoes, are, however, gradually making their way and the area sown in lines by progressive zemindars has already reached some thousands of acres in the Canal Colonies.

Among other implements of interest may be mentioned the 'Bar Harrow'. The latter can, like the Lyallpur Drills and Hoes be made locally. They are used to harrow wheat and for many other purposes. Though only brought out a little over two years ago some hundreds are already in use.

IV Education.

The work in education though not showing the same immediate gains is of more far-reaching importance to the welfare of the Province and of its Agriculture in the future than perhaps any other main line of activity. The Lyallpur Institute and College was opened only in 1909 and after many vicissitudes is now coming to its own. The spirit

and tone of the place owes a great deal to the self sacrifice and hopeful vision of its late Principal Mr. Barnes whose death recently, only three and half months after leaving us, cast a gloom over all. His high sense of duty and keenness in research will leave a lasting impression of incalculable value in the future.

Recently, proposals for affiliation with the Punjab University have been pushed forward and a new era of usefulness will open up as soon as this reform is accomplished. Two hundred applications for entry into the first year class were received this year, the vacancies being 38 only.

Besides classes for Diploma and Degrees a vernacular class is held at Lyallpur and thirty students are admitted annually. This class which lasts for $5\frac{1}{2}$ months only and where the teaching is wholly practical and in the vernacular has been a distinct success. Its usefulness may be enhanced in the future if teachers of vernacular schools are sent to it for training.

Agriculture in the Schools.—Agriculture is now supposed to be taught in vernacular and anglo-vernacular schools and in normal schools and is an optional subject for the Matriculation (Science). Four hundred and eighty seven pupils or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole took Agriculture as an optional subject in the Matriculation this year. Agriculture is not taught in the Normal Training College and in the whole Province there are only four teachers working in schools who have had training at an Agricultural College. The writer firmly believes that in the next 10 years, Agricultural education in schools will make immense strides in the Punjab and with co-operation between the Agri-

cultural College and the keen officers of the Education Department that progress should be on sound and developing lines. From every point of view the future promises to be full of intense and extensive development in Punjab Agriculture.

W. ROBERTS.

MOONRISE AT MIDNIGHT

It was midnight and all creation slept ;
But mighty systems rolled, and earth revolved ;
The eternal silence in which had evolved
Those perfect systems was awake, and kept
Its dreary watch ; when lo ! the Glory leapt
Forth from behind a cloud. The world involved
In gloom till then, received her, and dissolved
Itself in the light and splendour that now swept
Its surface. And a group of jasmines white
In wonder saw the spectacle, and breathed
Forth fragrant prayers. The winds the fragrance caught,
And flung it to the stars ; a poet wrought
A sonnet from the prayers to be bequeathed
In love to thinking hearts for their delight,

VICTORIA HOTEL,
MADRAS.

A. B. NAMBIAR.

AN APPEAL TO THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF INDIA

GENTLEMEN,

NO one doubts that you are the real rulers of India. Not once, but on many an occasion, you have said you are trustees for India. All responsible politicians in the United Kingdom say the same thing. Nay, when the Bill which conferred a Constitution on the South African Union was before Parliament, a similar statement was made even in respect of the black population in that country, and Lord Selborne's famous Appendix to the South African Act laid down that they were to be governed on lines which would achieve the principle of native self-government. In a recent speech, General Smuts said, he was not certain whether in the distant future the South African Act would not be remembered "more for its Appendix than for its principal contents". He also said: "We now have legislation before the Parliament of the Union which is trying to put into shape these ideals I am talking of—ideals of creating all over South Africa, wherever there are considerable native communities, independent self-governing institutions for the native population." Have you such ideals for your beneficiary, India? Do you contemplate any such legislation?

I presume you will not object to a mere doctrinaire or theoretical amendment of the Government of India Act of 1915 to the effect that self-government within the Empire shall be the goal of your administration. But what is it you are prepared to do, to have that object achieved? There were old self-governing villages in India as there were in almost all Aryan settlements. Elphinstone was in favour of their autonomy. He thought the village Panchayats did more good than evil, but after he left, your predecessors thought differently, and Panchayats were mercilessly criticised and killed. In 1882, local self-government was thought of by Lord Ripon, but what has become of his scheme? Lord Mayo thought of decentralisation, and a few years ago evidence was taken and a report made by the Decentralisation Commission. But the Provincial Governments are still very much like agents to the Government of India? Nothing has been done to train the villager to govern his village, the Taluka Board to govern the Taluka, the District Board to govern the District or the Municipalities to govern Cities and Towns. You wield great powers under your "Bludgeon Clauses", and are not afraid of suspending local bodies, and taking their administration into your own hands or your nominees.' You do not even give an opportunity to the local electors to have a fresh election, when a few of their representatives have the misfortune to incur your displeasure.

General Smuts, in the speech I have referred to, told his audience: "If you ask my opinion what is wrong with Europe, I would say that it seems to me that the moral basis in Europe has become undermined. All this enormous

superstructure of civilization and commerce and trade, all these enormous developments that have been built on that basis, have become too much for it. The Christian moral code has proved too weak a basis, and so you see the building sagging and all this ruin with which Europe is now involved." The General believes that if those who professed Christianity, practised it, the moral basis would not be undermined. Dr Machichan, as Moderator of his great Church in Scotland, made a speech sometime ago, in which he, on behalf of Christianity, welcomed India to the brotherhood of nations. The Metropolitan of Calcutta has followed him. Are you, gentlemen, willing to so welcome her? Are you prepared to say, with General Smuts, "Honesty, justice, fair play are Christian virtues which must be the basis of all our relations"? If so may I ask you if it is fair play on the part of a trustee to keep his beneficiary *in statu pupillari* for over a century and a half, and then refuse him self-government, because, in your opinion, and according to your standard, he is not fit for it? Well if he is not fit for it, make him fit, but do not take time up to the Greek Kalends for that purpose. Moreover, does it not occur to you that a guardian, who even after such a long time, considers his ward unfit, proclaims his own ill success.

To make India truly fit, the Civil Service has to make a sacrifice. Is it prepared to do so? The Civil Service has a monopoly of all high offices: is it prepared to allow Indians a fairshare of those offices in order that they may acquire administrative experience of a high order, and that experience may not be lost to India as it is now lost, when you, gentlemen, go back to your country. You may make

your bludgeon clauses milder, you may even allow village councils to come into being without insisting on further taxation by them, you may even emancipate Provincial Councils to a greater extent, but so long as the Service is not Indianised and remains a monopoly, your commanding position and the patronage in your hands and the power of your clubs and your *esprit de corps* will make even a strong Indian minister with an independent portfolio a nonentity or a by-word of contempt. You will not be losers if you give up your monopoly and come in as friends and advisers rather than our masters, for Indians are a grateful race. It is easy for you to slide into their love and confidence, and believe me, it is better for you and yours to have their love and confidence, than possess treasures of the earth. "Concession" said Lord Chatham in 1775, "Comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power, it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.....*Tuque puer, tu parce, projice t-la manu.*"

Do you not think India has been very patient? Your Parliament in S. 87 of 3 and 4 W. IV Cap. 85 laid down most explicitly, "that no Native of the said territories (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or emolument under the said Government." And in the Court of Directors' Despatch dated December 10, 1834, it was said: "The meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India Fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility."

Is there really no governing caste in India? Is fitness really the only criterion of eligibility? Her late Majesty Queen Victoria said in 1858, "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects." And I ask, "Have you enabled your sovereign to faithfully and conscientiously fulfil this promise?" Lord Lytton, frankly admitted that neither the promise of Parliament nor of the Crown had been fulfilled, and can we say, even to-day, that it is approaching fulfilment? Between the date of the Statute creating the Covenanted Civil Service in 1861 and the Act creating the Statutory Service in 1870, barely two Indians were appointed "in special circumstances", nine years were spent in framing rules under the Act. Under those Rules, Indians looked forward to securing at least 156 appointments, but one of your Commissions reduced them to 108, and your new Public Service Commission has made recommendations which indicate little advance and perhaps a decade will be required to give effect to them. Years have sped on but the sons of the soil who believed they would be freely and impartially allowed to serve their country are told they are not yet "qualified by their education, ability and integrity". When will you consider them so qualified?

It is unjust to Indians to say that they merely want the loaves and fishes of office. They demand *duties*, not *rights*. Just consider what your own feelings would be, if you were placed in a similar position? Would you wish other people incapable of entering into the spirit of your customs and institutions, to interpret your law to you, to decide what your

usages are, to tell you what your curricula should be in your schools, to control your agriculture, your industries, your manufactures, your lands, your pastures, your forests, your mines, your currency, your public works, your Police, your Army, your sea-craft, and all the various departments of your activity? Would you have liked your sons to be debarred from serving their country in such high offices as you hold in India? Would you have rejoiced at their exclusion from commissions in the Army and Navy, and rejoiced at their being deprived of arms? Would you have considered it fair that if your burdens instead of decreasing had increased? Would your poor have been grateful for the Indian *gabelle*, and for those exquisitely refined restrictions under which it is an offence to remove a little efflorescence from the sea-coast or to make a little salt by boiling a little sea-water? Would you have liked your patriots haunted by the C. I. D. You might have had a hundred Ranades: would you have liked even such saintly men, incapable of disloyalty, shadowed by the Police? Why even Mr. Malabari and Gokhale had these experiences. Above all, if your income per head per year had been merely a couple of pounds, how would you have liked a proposal to give you a few more crumbs of local self-government and a few more crumbs of provincial and national self-government provided you agreed to find more money by further taxation for your local, provincial or national wants, and submitted to that criterion as the criterion of your fitness for more enlarged powers in the future? Did Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Asquith add any such rider to their Irish Home Rule Bills?

Of late, you have taken to shunning daylight and welcoming twilight. Did you never read Erskine's defence of freedom of the Press? Surely the English Constitution would never have been what it is if there had been no such freedom. We thought Opinion was free and Conduct alone was amenable to the law. "The poor, in all countries, are naturally both peaceable and grateful in all reforms in which their interest and happiness are included." And we are poor! alas! very poor. Montesquieu says: "In a free nation it matters not whether individuals reason well or ill it is sufficient that they do reason. Truth arises from the collision, and from hence springs liberty, which is a security from the effect of reasoning." I commend this to your attention. And, gentlemen, have you not heard that story of Jupiter told by Lucian and repeated by Erskine: "Jupiter and a countryman were walking together, conversing with great freedom and familiarity upon the subject of heaven and earth. The countryman listened with attention and acquiescence, while Jupiter strove only to convince him, but happening to hint a doubt, Jupiter turned hastily round and threatened him with his thunder. 'Ah, ah!' says the countryman, 'now, Jupiter, I know that you are wrong. you are "always wrong when you appeal to your thunder."'

You may "clap your padlock on any one obnoxious to you, but can you "clap your padlock on the mind?" Is not constraint a pregnant proof that reason is not on the side of those who use it? "Would it not be better for you to say with Cromwell, "if my government is made to stand, it has nothing to fear from paper shot"? "Is it worthy of those who speak the language of Shakespeare and Milton, is it

worthy of a "noble and puissant nation", to first aim an Act against Anarchists and Revolutionaries, and then turn its necessarily wide language against those who differ from you, but are neither Anarchists nor Revolutionaries? Sir Narayen Chandavarkar has told what Whitley Stokes and Sir William Harcourt thought of Lord Lytton's attempt to repeal the import duties on cotton goods by means of a Notification under the Sea-Customs Act, instead of repealing the Act imposing those duties; and he has told you that things which may not be *illegal* may, nevertheless, be *unconstitutional*. I would add that things which may not be illegal may, nevertheless, prove disastrous by shaking public confidence. Surely it would have been more prudent and more politic to follow Erskine's advice: "Engage the people by their affections, convince their reason, and they will be loyal from the only principle that can make loyalty sincere, vigorous, or rational, a conviction that it is their truest interest, and that their government is for their good."

Sir William Wilson Hunter in his monograph on Dalhousie says that the unification of territory effected by that Governor-General "was only the first stage in a still more splendid, if more perilous work of unification—the unification of the Indian races." And he quotes with approval what Sir Edwin Arnold, summing up the results of Lord Dalhousie's rule wrote in 1865: "We are making a people in India, where hitherto there have been a hundred tribes, but no people." Over half a century has since elapsed, and I ask you, gentlemen, whether you will go on simply reminding us of Tamerlane, Nadirshah, Ahmedshah Abdali, the Pindaris and the Thugs or fairly and squarely look the facts in the face, recognize what is in part at least

your own handiwork, take note of the spirit of this age, and endeavour to carry out the pledges given from time to time. In 1817, just a century ago, the Marquis of Hastings deploring the opposition of the East India Company to his establishing educational institutions, had occasion to visit the very first English school (other than a missionary one) which had been founded at her own expense by his noble wife, and he wrote in his private journal: "The drogress made by the boys is very striking. A sepoy grenadier...has made wonderful progress...I desired him to tell me what was inculcated by the story which he was reading, and he said it was ~~that~~ kindness to the weak or destitute was what God required from the strong, and that a neglect of it would displease the Almighty." "Kindness to the weak or destitute" from the strong—was not this the mission of your nation according to the best of your own men? But is not your administration extremely costly? When we ask for the expansion of primary education, what is your reply? No money. When we ask for Village Councils what is your reply? "They cannot get any part of the local cess they pay. They must agree to tax themselves over again for their local purposes." When Municipalities asked for Government land in order to relieve the congestion of population, you refused to part even with a square yard, until the plague broke out, and then some grudging grants were made. The Bombay Improvement Trust which was to provide more sanitary buildings for the seething masses in that city, has been doing a great deal for men able to pay heavy rents or heavy prices, but for the poor only a few Chawls have been provided. The other day the Civilian Municipal Commissioner of Bombay

was asked to report if he could provide more open spaces for the poor. The reply was, "No money." A former President of the National Congress protested, but the Municipal Commissioner's verdict prevailed. We ask for itinerant teachers, itinerant dispensaries, we ask for more schools, more Colleges, more teaching Universities, Sanatoria for the tuberculous, special Clinics for the working classes, more medical relief to women and to children, better hygienic and sanitary measures for prevention of diseases, and the reply is generally "No money." We ask for judicial reform, even reform the importance of which has been admitted by Government, for agricultural reform, for extension of co-operation, for relief of agricultural indebtedness, and the usual reply is "No money." When the Registration Act and the Court Fees Act were passed nearly half a century ago, there were distinct assurances that they had not been passed to derive a surplus revenue: but have those promises been carried out? We know also how the local cess levied in the Bombay Presidency for Roads and Schools was spent, and we know how the extra cess levied in Sind, called the Sind Villages cess was spent. The villagers have still to drive their old-fashioned carts on rough roads bisected or trisected by lines of deep ruts, and there are still villages innumerable without a school. The Bombay Government in a late resolution on its land revenue administration admitted that there are villages in which the supply of even drinking water is inadequate. And that for want of funds infectious and fatal cattle-diseases have to be put up with in many a place and yet a Forest resolution admits that over a lakh of cattle were impounded by the Forest authorities. The

Forest revenue would suffer if the stringency of the Forest law were relaxed in favour of the poor. In the Bombay Presidency, it is theft for a starving woman to remove, even earth, sand, stone or muram, without a license, from land, not private, for all land not private vests in Government, under the Land Revenue Code of 1879. Ask for the removal of such restrictions, and the reply will probably be "No money," and inviolability of the established law, all for the good of the Revenue payer of course. And yet economy has found no place in India and the cost of administration has been on the increase. James Mill thought that the revenue from land alone in India would suffice for all the expenses of Government, if properly managed. But, as Gokhale pointed out more than once, even the Army charges in India are in excess of the whole land revenue. It is indeed not too much to say that no country in the world, so poor as India, has a more costly administration!

That administration is also top-heavy, the 'Pioneer' admitted in 1908. The administration is, moreover, not in touch with the people or alive to their needs as, the 'Times of India' pointed out in its leader on the 21st June. Says this great paper: "None can live in this country without being conscious of the yearning amongst the very best minds for a quickened policy of political, social and economic development, which will speed up measures to enable India to take her full place amongst the people of the world.....The Madras Government points to the need of education in order to fit India for wider liberties. What are we doing to furnish that education? The Madras Government points to the need of diminishing the elements

of disunion that prevail. What are we doing to encourage and help social reform? The Madras Government says that the attainment of some measure of political status and experience is required to fit people for a more direct participation in the government; what are we doing to develop this knowledge through the extension of local government and the expansion of provincial autonomy?...With a full sense of responsibility we say the Government of India and the Services in the Provinces are not in full harmony with the times." The greatest English statesman of modern times has said that it is only liberty that fits for liberty, and in connection with Irish Home Rule Mr. Parnell said: "If we do not get a right budget all will go wrong from the very first hour." You may, gentlemen, consent to a pious opinion being inserted in a Parliamentary Statute as to the goal to be aimed at, you may even consent to India being put in short clothes after the very long period it has been in long clothes, but unless you heartily consent, India will not get a right budget, and all will go wrong.

Your compatriots in South Africa made a great sacrifice to secure unity, and their sacrifice has fructified a hundred-fold during the war. Probably even Ulster may rise equal to the occasion, and make a sacrifice in order that the Sinn Feiners may no longer distract the Empire. Your country parted with millions in order to put an end to Slavery. It fought at Alma and Inkerman and Sebastopol and spent nearly £ 100,000,000 sterling and sacrificed a hundred thousand brave soldiers according to John Bright, in order to secure independence to the Turk. It is now spending $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions a day, and has already spent

4,000 millions sterling, in order to secure independence to Belgium and Servia and crush autocracy and militarism. It sympathised with Greek patriots and with Italian patriots and gave them valuable aid. It sympathises even with Armenians, Arabs and Jews. Your great statesmen have been saying again and again that the war they are carrying on, is a war for the assertion of the rights of the weak against the strong. The United States have joined in it for the same reason. You yourselves have repeatedly said that you are in India as stewards, and honourable trustees. You know Indian history too well to speak flipantly of India having been won by the sword or being retained by the sword. You know too well that Indians are not like Lord Salisbury's Hottentots. You must have read in Ball's History of Mathematics and in Cajori's, and in text books on the history of language the history of religion and the history of philosophy what a deep debt the world owes to India. We had our Janaks and Ramchandras and Asokas, and the Mahommedans gave us an Akbar. What have you done to reach up to India's ideal Kings? What have you done to realise your own ideals? What splendid opportunities you have of doing good. The sons of the soil want you to help them. They want you to create opportunities.

They ask for, as I have said, duties not rights. Can you not then see your way to gratify their wishes? Finance Committees and no end of Commissions have done us little good for you are supreme. With a stroke of your pen, you can easily give us a good budget if your hearts are changed. Mr. Gladstone is said by Lord Morley to have given your country "a system of economy which is itself a great

revenue". Will you not set about giving us such a system, and lightening the cost of administration by delegation of duties to popular elected bodies, *responsible to their constituents*, and in other ways ?

I don't think you will ever say that India should be governed by force or fraud. The only other alternative is to govern it by good-will, and in order so to govern, you should introduce popular responsible institutions, upholding economy in every detail, and adapting their arrangements to the needs of their people. Your Taluka and District Local Boards and your Municipalities can never be responsible popular bodies, so long as they are not allowed to deliberate and decide as representative bodies *liable to account to their constituents* for their behaviour, and subject only to the advice and guidance of a sympathetic Local Government Board, possessing as in England the confidence of the public. It is quite time, therefore, to do away with the system of nomination, except in very backward parts of India. By all means let the minorities be adequately represented, but the best way to secure that object is to give them the right of election, and not to give yourselves the right of selection. The same remark applies to the Provincial Councils and to the Imperial Council.

Where there is a will there is a way. If you mean business you can give us a more statesmanlike set of recommendations than those of the Public Service Commission (drafted before the war), you can carry out retrenchments on a scale no Finance Committee, anticipating your opposition, can ever advocate, and you can effect delegations of duties far beyond the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, *Every additional vote conferred*

means additional power and additional responsibility.. Mr. Gladstone said in 1864 "What are the questions that fit a man for the exercise of a privilege such as the franchise? Self-command, self-control, respect for order, patience under suffering, confidence in the law, regard for superiors.....*I venture to say that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution.* (The Italics are in the original. See Morley, Life II-126). You cannot say that Indians have not the qualifications enumerated by Mr. Gladstone. If, however, you wish to proceed very cautiously, you have at least ready-made electorates in (1) the occupants of land paying assessment or holding rent-free, according to your revenue registers, (2) the mercantile community paying income-tax, and (3) the Universities and other corporate bodics. Add to these other electorates (including minorities). Take the leaders of public opinion into your confidence, thresh out all the details of a responsible, stable, honest progressive Government in consultation with them, utilise the experience gained by all self-governing communities, give effect to the very first maxim of your nation's political code, no taxation without representation, and let India, have at last a true start on the road to the goal, so long promised and so much desired by your own statesmen. Believe me, there is in such loss as you may sustain a gain to match, nay, the gain will exceed the loss both in magnitude and duration, for the laws of God work in favour of the unselfish, not in favour of the selfish.

Gentlemen, I do not blame you for a moment, remember. If we knew all we would forgive all. You are creatures and

servants of a bad system under which India has a governing caste. But it has lasted long enough. Do not believe in "muddling through". It means an enormous waste. Do not go in for a policy of "Drift" or a policy of "Divide and Rule". Do not lend your ears to time-servers tale-bearers, "eye-pleasers," "humour-feeders," and double-faced men, like those who in the time of the Tudors and the Stuarts did your country enormous harm. Do as you would be done by, and practise that charity which has been called "the grandest of illuminants." Do not be haughty or arrogant. Even in a Roman triumph a monitor used to stand behind the conquering hero to remind him he was but a man, and to every triumphal chariot were tied a whip and a bell to warn him he was accountable. The great Guru of the Sikhs Guru Nanak, has also said :

"The words man speaketh shall be taken into account,
The food he eateth shall be taken into account ;

Man's movements shall be taken into account, what he
heareth and seeth shall be taken into account ;

Every breath he draweth shall be taken into account."

"There is but one God to Whom both you and we are accountable. For His inscrutable purposes, He has given your little island dominion over a quarter of the world's population—over 430 millions of human beings, of whom 300 millions are Indians. There was a time when Britain herself was at the proud feet of the Roman conqueror. There was a time when Duke William of Normandy could say to his Normans (just before the battle of Hastings) : Ah! let any of the English, whom, a hundred times, our predecessors, both Danes and Normans, have defeated in battle,

come forth and show that the race of Rollo ever suffered a defeat from his time until now, and I will withdraw conquered. Is it not, therefore, shameful that a people accustomed to be conquered, a people ignorant of war, a people even without arrows, should proceed in order of battle against you, my brave men?" Those same English, reinforced by the blood of their conquerors, now hold the destinies of India in their hands. But the moving finger, that has brought you here, is still moving, and who knows what it may write next. We have seen a trickle become a torrent, and God is great. There are strange tides in the affairs of men: of only one thing we feel sure:

"Merits and demerits shall be read out in the presence
of the Judge;

According to men's acts, some shall be near, and others
distant from God."

SEXAGENARIAN.

18th July 1917.

MUSINGS AND COMMUNINGS.

THERE appears to be a strange Sufic element in the worship of that humble Jewish Maiden, whom Catholics all the world over hail as Mary the Blessed Virgin, as their Rosa Mystica, as Regina angelorum, Regina patriarcharum, Regina prophetarum, Regina apostolorum, Regina confessorum, Regina virginum, Regina sanctorum omnium. If ideation had not been creation, there would never have been such a transformation. To the lover of the ideal Mary, she is, paradoxical as this may appear, a real being.

Man is an image-making animal. Miran had formed a particular image of her Giridhar, and her jealous husband thought she had a human lover. There is a converse story told in the fourth part of the Trèasury of the Rosary, for we are told a Catholic gentleman who used to leave his wife's bed, after she was asleep, to show his love to the Virgin in an oratory in his mansion, and not return for a considerable time, was suspected by her, and as, on being questioned, he said he loved a lady the most lovely in the world and had given her his whole heart, his wife committed suicide ! Many Catholic saints, also, have used language towards Mary, reminding one of the love-songs of Sufis and Bhakts. St Francis de Sales, a most sober saint, is

said for example, to have addressed her once, in a tempest:
“O love, O beauty, to which I have consecrated all my affections, shall I no longer enjoy your consolations? O Virgin Mother of God, the most beautiful of all the daughters of Jerusalem, shall I never have the happiness of seeing thee in Paradise?”

But in the case of Mary, there is another ideal transfiguration. She is loved not so much as a beautiful Maiden but as a Mother, *Mater purissima*, *Mater castissima*, *Mater inviolata*, *Mater intemerata*, *Mater amabilis*, *Mater admirabilis*, *Mater boni consilii*. As such also, she is as real to her worshippers as, for example, the Mother whom Paramahansa Ramkrishna invoked, or the Mother to whom Keshub prayed. Marvellous indeed is our image-making faculty and marvellous the power of making all images alive, as it were, by love and worship, intense and concentrated and continued for a long time.

It is this great power that is evidenced by comparative hagiology. The Lady of Lourdes is quite different from the Madonna of Jeanne d' Arc, and, perhaps, there are as many Madonnas as there are spiritual Raphaels meditating on her and spending their love and worship on her without stint, without measure. And undoubtedly all these are different from the Mother of Ramkrishna as much as this last is from the Mother of Keshub. But they are all perfectly real to their adorers !

Prima vera—what a beautiful name ! I should like to see Sandro's picture of Primavera. Prima vera should be our real self, and if every man has a right and a duty “to

realise his own self," as even Ibsen holds, every man has a right and a duty to realise *Prima vera*.

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty, that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know."

Tolstoy was never tired of quoting that fine passage in St John's Epistles, which is peculiarly Sufic: "Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God, and every one that loveth is begotten of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love. No man hath beheld God at any time.....God is love, and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him...He that loveth not abideth in death." Spiritual Painting, Spiritual Sculpture, Spiritual Music are the children of Spiritual Love.

Love teaches what no Science can teach. Lord Kelvin repeatedly said that "Mathematics and dynamics fail us when we are confronted with the problem of the origin of life on the earth. We must pause face to face with the mystery and miracle of the creation of living creatures." In 1903, he said: "Science positively affirms creative power. Science makes every one feel a miracle in himself. We are absolutely forced by Science to admit, and believe with absolute confidence in Directive power, in an influence other than physical, dynamical or electrical forces." Science can solve neither the riddle of life nor the riddle of love.

Love has its Alpha rays, its Beta rays and its Gamma rays. It is said Radium with its Alpha rays (which it sends out at a velocity of 40,000 miles a second) can be easily kept in a glass tube. Its Beta rays, which are about 1/1000th of the size of the Alpha and send out energy at a

higher velocity, pass through glass and cannot be kept in a glass tube. Its Gamma rays can pass through even non-transparent substances, for example, even through about six inches of lead. They are penetrating like light. Similarly the Gamma rays of Love vibrate it as star to star vibrates light, the Beta rays vibrate it as one brilliant transparency vibrates light to another such transparency, while the Alpha rays vibrate it as one optically dense vessel vibrates light to another. The Gamma rays of Love can reach the *Karana* Sharir, the Beta can reach the *Sukshma* Sharir, and the Alpha the *Sthula*. Radium is the most concentrated form of material energy known to Science, according to Sir William Ramsay. Love is the most concentrated form of spiritual energy, according to our Bhakts.

Sound-waves are silent until they strike our eardrum. Love-waves are invisible until they strike our eye. Love-waves are imperceptible until they strike our spiritual sensorium. Yoga and Bhakti mean nothing more than the training of that sensorium so as to make it sensitive to the vibrations of Love, flowing from the Deity Himself, and from His Cosmos.

How can one, endowed with such sensitiveness by birth or training, hate even his worst enemy? Why, the hate will destroy his whole endowment! "The highest universal principle of life," awake in him, will go to sleep at once, if he hates.

Establish communion with "the highest universal principle of life", and you learn not only to make allowances for your worst enemy, but to see that "universal

principle" in him. That insight will itself disarm his enmity. Even if it does not, there is greater gain in returning good for evil than in returning evil for evil. It is better to be "living sunshine," than to remain in murky darkness even for a day. It is better to have the roots of our souls set in sunlight, as Ruskin would say, than to have them set in earthliness.

Both Buddha and Christ are of one mind on this point. In modern times, Tolstoy bore his testimony to this part of the world's Paramarthik Staya : "Love is bliss. The love of others for me is bliss for me, and yet more so is my love for others. The highest bliss is my love, not merely for those who do not love me, but for those who...hate me, insult me, and do evil to me...Love, true love, love that denies itself and transfers itself in another, is the awakening in oneself of the highest universal principle of life. But it is only then true love, and only then gives all the happiness it can give, when it is love free from anything personal, from the smallest particle of partiality to the object of one's love. And such love can only be felt for one's enemy, for those who hate and offend one.....So that cases of insult and attack become precious and desirable. And so, having looked into the essential attribute of the human soul, we see that by its nature, answering evil with evil causes it to suffer, while on the contrary; bestowing love in return for evil, gives it the highest attainable bliss."

Had the advice of Buddha and Christ been followed when that murder was committed which has given rise to the greatest world-war what a saving would there have been of blood and treasure ! But if love should be absolute and

all-sufficient, do thou, my soul, turn, with love, even to those who have, according to their lights, followed their masters. Hate then not. Call ignorance their sorrow, not their sin.

“Man is not God, but hath God’s end to serve,
A master to obey, a course to take,
Somewhat to cast off, somewhat to become.
Grant this, then man must pass from old to new,
From vain to real, from mistake to fact,
From what once seemed good, to what now proves best.”

The war will unravel many a tangle, will right many a wrong, will unbind many a chain. It takes thousands of years to learn Paramarthic Satya and leaven Vyavaharik Satya with its spirit, but some far day, there will certainly be “ripeness in things now rathe,” and “renewal” will be “born out of scathe”.

“Put pain from out the world, what room were left
For thanks to God, for love to man.”

•
A RECLUSE.

EYE WITNESSES.

SOME of the wounded from the Station Hospital came to see us. They were men from Galway, Cornwall and Kent, Connaughts, Cornwalls and Buffs. The first had fought the Germans in France, and the Turks in Mesopotamia. To these, India was a new country. They had gone from their homes in Connaught to the trenches in France, and thence to the Persian Gulf. The Cornwalls and Buffs had gone from India to Mesopotamia, and wounded at Ctesiphon had been sent back to India to recover. The difference of nationality did not prevent them all from being good friends, the common cause, the common sacrifice and suffering united them. They had been in the hospital for many weeks, and they were as happy as school boys to be out again, not because of the pain and fever of their wounds, but on account of the irksomeness of confinement. "No more six o'clock bed now, Sir, said Private Tomkins of the Buffs. We can go to bed at a respectable hour any time we like."

They were amazingly cheerful. It was'nt the cheerfulness of those who find the comfort of the present so intense by contrast with the dangers and privations which they

had so recently experienced, but of those who do not see any reason to be otherwise than cheerful. They had nothing to complain of. Not a harsh word against anybody even the Germans. One could only gather their opinion of them by inference. I remarked on the shape of some Turkish bullets which they showed me.

"Yes," said one. "It makes a clean wound." "The Turk is a good fighting man, and he fights fair." "But the Arab" put in Private O'Malley of the Connaughts, "The Arab is a devil. He cuts up our wounded if he gets a chance. I was more afeard comin back from the firin line to the base than I was before. Yeh niver know whin them Arabs will come out yet, me left arm was smashed as yeh can see, Sir, but I took me rifle all the same although it wouldn't have been much use to me wid the arm. Three or four times I fell with the weakness, but I says to myself, I'll get there if I have to die for it. As I was going along, I came to a man of the Hampshires lying on the ground. For God's sake sez he, "get me out of this." He had a terrible wound in his hip. "Well, mate sez I" if yeh can walk I'll help yeh along, but I can't carry yeh, I can't carry myself for that matter. "So I used me rifle, Sir, as a crutch and he put his arms around me neck, and I dunno how we done it, but somehow we managed to get down."

There was one of the Connaughts, quite a boy, who had got a bullet through his head. It had entered just below his eye and passed through his neck. He had had a very narrow escape, I said so to him.

"Yes, Sir, it was, and the worst of it was, I was the laughin stock of them all. They are used to laugh at the way me face was twisted and they used try to make me laugh too for then it was worse nor ever. They do it still."

They had little to say about the war, and nothing of their own part in it. Of their own regiment they were proud but did not boast, to other regiments they gave unqualified praise.

"What do you think of the Territorials"? I asked Private O'Malley.

"Fine fightin men, Sir," "said he. "They talked a lot about the Territorials before the war broke out, They used to think nothin of them, but if they had had a couple of million of them there'd have been a great difference in the war. The Fourth London were beside us in France. Yeh couldn't have asked for a better regiment. Cockneys and allas they were, they'd go anywhere we'd go and they liked to be with us. They tould us so. Fine lads they were, Sir, and young, too young many of them were for the hardships we had."

I mentioned the Dardanelles.

"Our fifth battalion was there, Sir, the best battalion we have. That *was* fightin. At Suvla Bay, they landed with the Munsters and Dublins, without any artillery, they went to attack the Turks and they tore down the barbed wire wid their naked hands, wid their hands, My God."

Private O'Malley stopped. There was a look of amazed horror in his eyes which none of his own experiences had

been able to summon. "Pullin down barbed wire fences with their naked hands, My God," he muttered again. Evidently the scene which his thoughts visualised was much more clearly defined and more terrible to him with his experience of war than to me with my experience of it. The thought was too painful. I changed the subject, and we spoke of Galway, of which I knew a little and he much. We spoke of the salmon fishing in the Comb and of the sea fishing in Curragh, off the Arran islands, of swimming off the pier and at Salthill, of the Claddagh, and of the old Galway families and the changes which time had made in them.

"Me father," said he, "died in South Africa. He was in the Connaughts too, and was killed in the attempt to relieve Ladysmith. I am the only man left now. I wouldn't mind bein back in Galway now."

MACLIR.

THE SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN STREAM.

1. I come from the land of the heather-clad hills,
Where the golden gorse covers the earth,
The land of the bleak, wild purple moors,
That's where I came to birth.
2. I follow my course, a silver thread,
Through valley, and glen and dale,
And I sing my song of the wild drear north,
As I ripple along my trail.
3. I leave the hills, my happy home,
Far away in the distance clear,
And I soon will reach my journey's end
For my goal, the sea, is near.
4. I can see its silver gleam beyond,
I can hear the murmuring roar,
As the white capp'd waves roll wildly in,
And thunder upon the shore.
5. There are, on the beach, nestled under the cliff,
A cluster of cottages grey,
Where the fishermen dwell, who their living earn,
On the deep, midst the salt sea spray.

6. I pass three or four little children here,
They are happy and laughing and gay,
I wonder if they are as happy as I,
As I dance on my sea-ward way ?
7. I am only a little stream, but this
Is the burden of my song
Go through life with a heart that is gay,
Though roses don't always strew the way,
If you lose yourself in a gloomy dream
Remember the song of the Mountain Stream
Be bright and you can't wrong.

KATRINE SILBERRAD.

January 1917

Aged 14 years

LETTERS FROM AN ENGLISHWOMAN. II.

England, 1917.

A GAIN the woman sits at her writing table and wonders if her first letter written to her unknown Indian sisters has made the perilous journey and reached not only those distant shores but the eyes it was meant for. She picks up her pen this time and writes boldly :

MY DEAR,

Indian Sisters, would it interest you to have a peep into an English lady's house ? Every country seems to have its own speciality for interiors. The French and Belgians who have visited us these last two years all exclaim at the pains we take to make our rooms comfortable as well as beautiful. They say we have a unique manner of arranging our furniture and dotting about vases and pots of flowers to give colour and life to the inanimate objects and all in such a way as to avoid stiffness while preserving neatness and order. But I suppose no one country is quite like another in its intimate home arrangements, any more than one person is just like another in appearance or character.

A house in London, even though of more or less regulation pattern, manages to take on a certain individuality from the disposition of its owner. The dining rooms

do not vary much and have a somewhat formal arrangement. There is generally a big table in the middle of the room and a large number of stiff chairs all just alike against the walls ready to set round the table for the family or guests who only use the room for their meals.

But as you enter the drawing room you at once get a glimpse of the personality of the lady of the house whose own particular domain it is. Not only does this show itself in the colouring of the walls, carpets, curtains and chair covers etc., which may be either artistic, bizarre or just pretty in effect, but she also discloses her taste, or want of taste, in the way the large sofa and its cushions, the easy chairs and occasional tables are disposed, or by the way she has arranged the vases of cut flowers and the pots of plants and palms, and by the quality and style of the pictures on the walls or the ornaments of china or bronze, and even photographs—all speaking of the owner's standard of taste and thought and perhaps also of the size of the income.

Of course you see this clearer still if you go upstairs into the lady's own bedroom which is often simple and at the same time if she has leisure, taste and money, extraordinarily pretty. It is generally furnished with an eye to colour, everything matches or tones, from the dainty bed-cover of silk and lace to the carpet and window curtains and perhaps even the china utensils on the wash-hand-stand.

In the country houses, small and big, of educated ladies you will find a love of beauty and orderliness. I will take you into a medium-sized one that I know, where

there is no great wealth or grandeur, just a simple ordinary 'home.' As you enter you come into the hall from which doors lead into dining, smoking and drawing rooms.

Here I must digress a little to say that in large houses there will also be a billiard room and in old family mansions a library as well—a room with bookshelves lining the walls from floor to ceiling full of books of every description mostly old and often rare editions which belonged to the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of the present possessor. Very probably the people who now use the room, perhaps as a smoking or writing room, have never read these old books, but they treasure them nevertheless according to their age and worth.

In describing the rooms of a large country house I must not forget the boudoir which is *par excellence* the living room of the lady of the house and so more than any other stamped with her individuality. She furnishes and arranges it to suit her own particular fancy and needs and no one enters it except at her invitation. I doubt if there are any ladies who would not have a boudoir if they could, but it is only those who are rich enough to be able to afford the large style house, who can enjoy this luxury. The great majority have to be satisfied with three sitting rooms—dining, drawing and smoking rooms, the latter being the special sanctum of the master of the house which he uses also as a writing room, it is generally furnished somewhat heavily not unlike an office.

A very important suite of rooms in every house needs mentioning—the nurseries. However small an English lady's home may be she will devote two or three of the

brightest and most airy upstairs rooms to the children. If little ones, there is a day nursery where nurses and children have their meals and play and a night nursery adjoining where you will see the nurse's bed and the babies cots, and yet another room for the older children to sleep in. As the family grows up the nursery becomes the schoolroom and the night nurseries accommodate the governess and pupils.

Now to return to the ordinary house I was showing you. The bedrooms are nearly always upstairs, you go up from the hall and reach a landing on to which open the doors of several bedrooms. English ladies try to make their own particular bedroom face south, so as to get the morning sun, just the contrary I imagine to what you would do in India.

Let me show you one such sunny bedroom, it has two big windows overlooking the garden and green fields and wooded slopes and the shining waters of a distant river winding its way to the sea. From one of the windows you can step out on to a stone balcony for a more extended view of the surrounding country. In these modern days the site of a house is, if possible, chosen for its aspect and views.

The window curtains of this sunny room are of a delicate blue stuff, a special fadeless material that will keep its beautiful colour in spite of our summer sun, I believe it would also defy the fading powers of a tropical sun! The carpet is of rich blue pile covering the centre of the room and leaving a few feet of polished oak floor visible round it. The bedstead and furniture are all dark mahogany and consist

of a dressing table standing at right angles to a window to catch the light, a wash-hand stand rather unobservable in a corner. A large wardrobe is built into the wall and has a full length mirror in which the owner of the room can see herself from head to foot. When dressed and ready to leave her room few women fail to cast a glance at their long mirror to see if their appearance is all that it should be.

The walls are painted white giving the room a cool effect of blue and white. On the writing table, making a vivid splash of warm colour, there stands a vase full of fresh cut pink carnations and their delicate scent pervades the room which you might even take for a sittingroom so neat and orderly it is ! No dresses or shoes or hats are lying about, all are put away in their respective places or cupboards. Another bedroom is furnished with mauve and violet shades and yet another with the more unusual contrast of blue and mauve. One lady I know has everything in her room of shades of rose and red, she says she feels she *needs* that colour. There is no doubt that colour has a strong psychic influence, but this is too big a subject for the present letter which must now be closed and posted.

ENGLISHWOMAN.

THE SIKH MORNING PRAYER.

Let him who seeketh HIM regard
 Contentment as his ear-ring:
 Let modesty his wallet be,
 His ashes,* meditation deep.
 Let him consider death his quilt,
 And faith as his mainstay in life,
 And let him keep his body pure
 (Like to a virgin undefiled).
 In this wise he shall gain indeed
 The spirit of true tolerance †
 For by subjection of the mind
 Is vict'ry gained o'er all the world.
 All hail to HIM !—to HIM All hail !
 The Primal Being and the Pure,
 Th' Immortal Lord Who ne'er began,
 Who is the same from age to age.

*That is ashes for smearing over the body.

†Lit : let him become an *aipanthi*—a sect of yogis who live without enmity with all men.

HIS mercy is HIS almoner,
 Knowledge Divine, lo, is HIS food:
 HIS glory is proclaimed abroad
 Through every corner of the world.
 HE is the Lord of lords whose might
 Admired is by all the world:
 Union and separation *both,
 And all men have, doth HE decree.
 All hail to HIM !—to HIM all hail!
 The Primal Being and the Pure,
 Th' Immortal Lord Who ne'er began
 Who is the same from age to age.
 We know that there is Prakriti*
 With its three adjutants Divine,
 (Brahma the Lord, Vishnu and Shiv) -
 He guides it as HE deems it best.
 HE sees all things that HE has made,
 But HE Himself is never seen
 By any being whatsoe'r,
 HE, truly, is most wonderful.
 All hail to HIM !--to HIM All hail!
 The Primal Being and the Pure,
 Th' Immortal Lord Who ne'er began,
 Who is the same from age to age.

*That is, union and separation of the soul from the body.

**Prakriti* : lit : matter—stuff, the substance of which the physical world is composed. *Prakriti*, here, is used in the sense of nature.

The worlds are HIS abode, and they
HIS treasure houses also are:
Whatever HE has placed in them,
That HE has placed for once, for aye.
HE having fashioned everything
Upon HIS Own works contemplates:
The works of HIM, the True One, are
O Nanak, everlasting, sure.
All hail to HIM:—to HIM all hail:
The Primal Being and the Pure:
Th' Immortal Lord Who ne'er began,
Who is the same from age to age.
Had I a hundred thousand tongues,
Yea, twenty fold as many more,
I then a hundred thousand times
Would tell HIS Name with all my tongues.
I would in this way mount HIS stairs,
And reaching HIM be one with HIM:
The meanest when they hear of Heav'n
Are filled with longing to be there.
O Nanak, HE is realised,
Only through HIS Own grace Divine:
Who boast of other ways and means
They idle prattlers are and false.

Lahore.

C.C. CALRB.

IN ALL LANDS.

On the Fourth of August prayers were offered for an early termination of the war and success to the arms of the supplicant's friends.

The War.

The Kaiser hoped to dictate terms of peace as a victor; Mr. Lloyd George was confident that it would be his privilege to announce the subjugation of Prussian militarism. Dr. Michaelis has surrounded himself with a number of militarist coadjutors, so that his party may hold up their heads, whatever the conclusion of the war may be. Korniloff is not without hopes of reviving the devotion and strength of his army, though up till now attempts at offensive in some regions are followed by retreat in others. Fighting continues in dead earnest on the western front, and the result is on the whole in favour of the Allies. Almost every day we get details of one battle or another which for the time being is described as the bloodiest of the whole war. The advance in terms of miles is not commensurate with the sacrifice of men and munitions.

* *

Mr. Henderson seems to have been so alarmed and unnerved by the continued and rapid decline in the military staying power of Russia that in 'a fortnight he completely changed his mind' regarding the policy to be followed

The Socialists.

by his party. He had gone to Petrograd to put heart into the workmen and the Government there. He had succeeded to a great extent and when he returned to England he appeared determined to stand by Mr. Lloyd George. But the events of a fortnight produced an unexpected transformation in him. He discounts Russian assurances, he has resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and his eyes are turned towards a vision of early peace. The Governments of the countries that are to be represented at the Stockholm Conference have shown no inclination to consider themselves morally bound by the result of the Conference. It is said to be consultative, and it will issue no mandates even to the workmen of the various countries represented. But what is the good of the consultation if it is to have no effect on the course of the war? It will hamper the Governments concerned, especially the democratic Governments.

* *
*

Constitutionally it is said to be illegal for His Majesty's subjects to confer with enemy subjects without permission, and it is a salutary principle. The attitude of the English followers of Mr. Henderson towards Germany is self-respecting enough, and they have some new and interesting ideas, like that of making Palestine an independent Jewish colony. But they would stop short of crushing Prussian militarism, and Mr. Lloyd George has not lost faith in his cracker and the nippers. Meanwhile His Holiness the Pope has once more invited the belligerents to state with sufficient precision what they are fighting for, and he has

Peace Talk.

suggested his own terms of a settlement which he thinks should satisfy all parties. The war aims change from time to time according to the changing prospects of the parties. The Pope is said to have assured himself that Berlin and Vienna favour his proposals, and the difference between them and the terms of English labourites of Mr. Henderson's school is not very great. Mr. Lloyd George seems to think that if peace is concluded at the present stage, Germany will not consent to any terms which will make a future war impossible. A future war will be more disastrous than the present one.

* *

America is raising money and lending to the Allies, sending doctors and engineers, and perhaps soldiers to Europe. But President Wilson has recently been very taciturn. A sensation has, on the other hand, been caused by Mr. Gerard's publication of the talks which he had with the Kaiser. It is difficult to believe that they were not communicated to the President before, but the American public seem now to be startled by them for the first time. The Kaiser was frank and "frightful." He made no secret of his hope to deal with America after the war. That was the surest way of immediately driving America to war, and it seems perfectly clear from the Kaiser's utterances, both public and private, that he has not the slightest doubt of dominating the whole world sooner or later. As soon as the war broke out, Lord Grey disclosed certain secrets concerning German designs on America, but somehow President Wilson did not take the hint. He thought that

the war would so completely exhaust all parties that his fortunate privilege would be only to mediate. He was mistaken and he recognised duty and interest rather late.

* * *

The author of a well known book on the Indian Army has remarked that in Europe every citizen is some sort of a soldier, while in Asia only certain classes can fight. In India the caste system supported a similar theory. Not all fighters were Kshatriyas, and yet not all classes were fighters. When peace was established under the British Government, the Indian army was reduced to a small size and by way of combining economy with efficiency the most reputed fighting classes only were retained in the army. Other classes in the greater part of India have nearly forgotten how the army affords an opening for employment. Thus in a country of more than three hundred millions of people, where man power would be abundant, recruiters have to make special efforts in war time. Committees to promote recruitment have been formed in several provinces to secure non-combatants as well as combatants. Tens of thousands have already joined the service; the terms offered are an improvement and gradually every province is likely to contribute a fair share of man power.

* * *

A section of the Press made it appear that the success of enlisting patriotic service under the Defence of India Force Act would depend, partly at least, on the removal of the colour bar in the army. The Government of India

Educated Soldiers.

explained months ago that the subject was under consideration and correspondence with the War Office in England. That commissions in the army would be granted to Indians was a foregone conclusion, but the consideration of the details must have taken a rather long time, and it was announced towards the end of August that the bar had been removed, that nine soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the war had already been appointed to the commissioned ranks and that other details would be published by the War Office. During the week that followed the announcement, applications for enlistment must have poured in by the hundred in every province, if the inducement had the potency credited thereto. But independently of any inducement, a large number nearly 3,000, had already enlisted and if the time be extended larger numbers may. Bengalis have specially distinguished themselves.



The big Russian had at one time a contempt for the comparatively puny Japanese soldier. **Spirit and Muscle.** But the latter soon demonstrated that in these days of scientific warfare, the value of a soldier does not depend upon his weight. We are likely to learn a similar lesson in India. So far as patriotic service is concerned, education supplies the true measure of it, rather than military traditions and daily occupations. In several parts of India, Musalmans are believed to be more fond of fighting than the Hindu inhabitants. Brahmans are enlisted in the army in northern India, and the Peshwas and their caste maintained at one time the reputation of Brahmans as fighters as well as scholars. But in

southern India and elsewhere the priest and the pandit were known for their mildness, rather than for their martial qualities. The recruitment under the Defence of India Force Act dispels some of the old notions about communal predilections. In southern India the Brahman seems to top the list and the Musalman is at the bottom. The reason undoubtedly is the difference in education. The uneducated have practically no notion of patriotism.

* *

The Mesopotamia Commission's Report records ancient history. We can not indeed as yet
India and the War. forget the result of the errors of judgment and the shortcomings on which it dwells. But the deficiencies are things of the past. Unfortunately a report of that kind is not easily forgotten, and, therefore, side by side with such literature we must have a brighter picture to enable both contemporaries and posterity to form a just appreciation of the collective effort made in India to meet the heavy responsibilities created by the war. Attention has been drawn in India, for example, to a part of the report which records the complaints made by medical officers about hospital accommodation at Colaba in Bombay City. It seems that the Secretary of State was supplied with an account of the state of affairs which was not borne out by the evidence of medical officers. We do not know the true explanation, and the public will not be able to judge of the conduct of the military department with adequate knowledge. But side by side with such records, let us have in a collected form an account of all that Lady Willingdon has done for the wounded—not merely for their care and comfort, but their subsequent welfare.

Notwithstanding the temporary military paralysis of
 Russia, it may be giving a too free
The East. rein to one's imagination to apprehend

that Germany will reach Odessa, and then march to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, and be eventually in a position to dominate the whole of Asia. That may be the German ambition and hence it is the interest of all Asiatic Governments to array themselves against the Kaiser. Siam declared war against Germany sometime ago, and China, apparently after much hesitation, has at last joined the Allies. Diplomatic relations between China and Germany were broken off long ago, but certain domestic episodes seem to have diverted the attention of the Republic from the great world war. Standing alone, the President of the Chinese Republic would in a short time be compelled to *Kowtow* to the Kaiser, but now is the time for all the world, especially the weaker States, to make common cause against a potentate whose ambition knows no bounds. Siam had no special cause to join in the war, except as a friend of Britain and France, while China has to pay off old scores, and to regain, if possible, the bit of territory wrested from her.

* *
 *

Processions and public meetings must be annoying enough to the police; the adoption of
Passive Resistance. "passive resistance" by a large number of persons would have created a more serious situation. The Congress is bound by its rules to adopt only constitutional means of agitation, and a question was raised whether it cannot recommend passive resistance. The Provincial Committees were asked to

report their opinions, and at the time of writing this note one Committee has recorded the opinion that passive resistance to "unjust and unconstitutional orders" is worthy of support by the Congress. The Penal Code recognises the right of disobeying illegal orders of public servants. Illegality can be defined. But who is to judge whether an order is "unjust and unconstitutional"? Internments are legal under the Regulation of 1818, and so they seem to be under the Defence of India Act. Whether in particular cases they are just or otherwise is another question. Indians in South Africa resisted a law applicable to the whole class. Orders in India are passed against individuals. However, the question is not likely to be of practical importance hereafter.

Not long ago a conference of Directors of Public Instruction discussed several educational questions. They related chiefly to the application of funds. H.E. the Viceroy, in opening the conference, referred to the place of vernaculars in secondary education, but perhaps it was thought that a separate conference, with official and non-official Indians in it, would be required to handle the question. A mixed conference met at Simla towards the end of last month. His Excellency again spoke and thereby evinced the personal interest taken by him in the important question. The Government's policy was reviewed since the days of Macaulay and it was shown that the Government never intended to discourage the use of the vernaculars where they could be profitably employed in the diffusion of knowledge and the communication of instruction. As the recent educational conference in Bombay showed, if the universities and the education departments do not accord adequate

support to the vernaculars, the educational question may develop into a national political grievance. The Conference will do some "spade work" and the opinions of the experts will be referred to Local Governments. The matter will not be dropped, but will be thoroughly investigated.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University devoted a considerable portion of his

University Politics.

Convocation address this year to a place for freedom and unhampered self-government—freedom not only from official control, but also from the domination of professors and educational experts. Persons engaged in the work of education may no doubt advise the governing body, but the government need not be in their hands. It seems that this opinion is now-a-days gaining in England in the case of universities which were not endowed in bygone days, but are supported from the public funds. In the existing Indian universities the greater number of the Senators are appointed by Government. The Vice-Chancellor pleaded that a much larger section of the governing body should be selected and should represent other than purely educational interests. The Patna University Bill, as it has emerged from the Select Committee, accepts this new point of view. A university must adjust its activities and standard to the needs of the community, besides promoting "plain living and high thinking", and, therefore, a large infusion of men of business may do good.

In the late Mr. Gokhale's draft scheme of Council reforms, prepared, it seems, at the re-

The Colonies.

quest of a high official, an interesting suggestion is made to the effect that if

East Africa be wrested from Germans it must be reserved

for colonisation by Indians. The contingency contemplated has not yet happened, and there is no hurry to decide what should be done with the prize. Mr. Walter Long at one time declared seriously and with an avowed sense of responsibility that Britain would not consent to a restoration of the Colonies conquered from Germany. That was at a time when Mr. Lloyd George was confident of driving the enemy out from France, Belgium and other occupied territories in Europe. This confidence is perhaps not still shaken, and he calmly contemplates the continuance of the war for at least a couple of years more. Now Russia favours the policy of "no annexations, no indemnities" and the offensive in Flanders has yielded no quick results. The Neutrals would naturally favour the "no annexation" formula. Mr. Gokhale was rather too imaginative, but not more so than the statesman who spoke of Indian soldiers occupying Berlin.

We notice that even Anglo-Indian journalists are not opposed to the Government of India conferring something like autonomy on the present Provincial Governments.

Autonomy.

It is said sometimes that even in such a matter the mandate must come from the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom. But the Government of India Act of 1915 lays down (in section 33) that "the superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, who is required to pay due obedience to all such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State." If, therefore, the Secretary of State (with, of course, the consent of the Cabinet) were to direct the Government of India to pass an Act conferring

such autonomy, or to permit the introduction of a Bill for the purpose, the Supreme Legislative Council would be perfectly competent to confer such autonomy. Be this as it may, fiscal autonomy, at least, can certainly be given, and there is no reason why the Government of India should continue the present unsatisfactory system under which certain heads of revenue belong both to the Supreme and Local Governments.

The South Africa Act 1909 under which the South African Union was established, detailed in section 85, the following matters in respect of which the Provincial Councils were competent to legislate:

" (1) Direct taxation within the province, in order to raise a revenue for provincial purposes:

(2) The borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province with the consent of the Governor-General in Council, and in accordance with regulations to be framed by Parliament:

(3) Education, other than higher education, for a period of five years and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides:

(4) Agriculture to the extent and subject to the conditions to be defined by Parliament:

(5) The establishment, maintenance, and management of hospitals and charitable institutions :

(6) Municipal institutions, divisional councils, and other local institutions of a similar nature:

(7) Local works and undertakings within the Province, other than railways and harbours and other than such works as extend beyond the borders of the province, and

subject to the power of Parliament to declare any work a national work, and to provide for its construction by arrangement with the provincial council or otherwise:

(8) Roads, out spans ponts, and bridges, other than bridges connecting two provinces:

(9) Markets and pounds:

(10) Fish and game preservation:—

(11) The imposition of punishment by fine; penalty, or imprisonment for enforcing any law or any ordinance of the province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section (85):

(12) Generally all matters which, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, are of a merely local or private nature in the province:

(13) All other subjects in respect of which Parliament shall by any law delegate the power of making ordinances to the provincial council."

Of course "parliament" in this section means the Parliament of the South African Union, and not the Imperial Parliament. The Provincial Legislative Councils in India have in theory, at least, larger legislative powers, for they can "make laws for the peace and good government" of their provinces (s.79), and this general power is subject only to eight exceptions which indicate truly what revenues and departments should be Imperial. If, therefore, the Government of India were to confine their attention to those departments, the Provincial governments would be in a far better position than they are in now. The first of the eight exceptions relates to the Public Debt of India,

the customs duties, or "other tax or duty for the time being in force and imposed by the authority of the Governor-General in Council for the general purposes of the government of India."

The second exception relates to Currency, the third to Posts and Telegraphs, the fourth to the Indian Penal Code, the fifth to "religion or religious rites and usages of any class of British subjects in India," the sixth to the Army and Navy, the seventh to Patents and Copyright, and the last to relations "with foreign princes or States." There is no exception relating to railways and harbours or inter-provincial bridges, but all inter-provincial public works may, as they are at present be left within the sphere of the Supreme Government. The Railway income is a growing income, and the Government of India may well rest content with it and the proceeds of the Income-tax, the Salt tax, the Opium Revenue, the Stamp duties, the Customs, the revenue from Posts, Telegraphs and Patents, and the Tribute from Indian States. The main point is that there should be no divided heads and no divided control, and provincial governments ought to have the whole land revenue of their provinces in order to promote the welfare of their subjects, and not plead again and again that they have no funds. The whole of the Abkari revenue, again, under an ideal system, should be ear-marked for education, and all unnecessary public expenditure should be rigorously retrenched. There is absolutely no reason why such a reform should not be carried out, even under the law as it now stands. The Delegation Scheme issued by the Finance Department on July 28th bristles with limitations and restrictions and does not go far enough.

In the South African Union our compatriots in Cape Colony enjoy the franchise. The Act of 1909 safeguards it, and there is another provision which is very useful. The Parliament of the Union consists of the King (in practice, the Governor-General), the Assembly House and the Senate. This last body consists of an equal number of elected and nominated members, and it is laid down that the nominated members "shall be selected on the ground mainly of their thorough acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races in South Africa." This provision may be of some help to those who are busy thinking out the future constitution of the government of India. We would suggest to Natesan and other enterprising publishers the issue of a book containing the South Africa Act of 1909, and the Act, relating to the Canadian, the Australian, the New Zealand Constitutions, and the Constitution of the United States and of France.

It is only in the fitness of things that Christian divines should be keenly alive to the great spiritual transformation that is being wrought in the souls of men and it is only by stating boldly and standing bravely by the letter of that faith that teachers of Christianity can retain confidence of the people. Why should our Anglo-Indian friends be wild against Christian Bishops in saying what countless others are thinking and saying all over the country.

They must state the truth that is in them without fear or favor.

"We need to realise so wrote the Bishop of Madras that we cannot now base the Government of India upon any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian peoples, that we are here as servants of the Indian people and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim and object must be to enable India to become a Self-Governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her own civilization upon her own lines."

He added significantly:

"If it is wrong for Germany to attempt to impose her *kultur* upon unwilling nations, it is equally wrong for England to attempt to impose her government and civilisation upon India against the will of the Indian peoples." "*We cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe and apply another set of principles in India.*"*

The Bishop of Bombay† struck a note of hope by his generous recognition of the aspirations of Indians. The democracy of Great Britain and the democracies of the self-governing dominions can have only one ideal for the future of India, and that is that India should eventually attain self-government." The country is indeed grateful for such adequate expression of feelings so universally current. For it is but right and natural that the ethical aspect of the great Indian problem should find such fitting words as those in which the Metropolitan of Calcutta spoke on the 4th of August.

"We must now look at our own paramount position in the light of our own war ideals. The British rule in India

*The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Madras in the *Nineteenth Century and After*.

†Letter to the *Indian Social Reformer*.

must aim at giving India opportunities of self-development according to the natural bent of its peoples. With this in view, the first object of its rulers must be to train Indians in self-government. If we turn away from any such application of our principles to this country, it is but hypocrisy to come before God with the plea that our cause is the cause of liberty."

It was a service of Penitance and humble Prayer to Almighty God, and it was in the fitness of things to seek justification by deeds in place of words and to renew the Covenant to serve God by serving his people.

* * *

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FROM CLOUDLAND.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer spoke as the ruler of the soldier-province, and he applied to the whole of India the touchstone of sacrifice and service. The words seemed to be ringing in his ears as he spoke:-

The Conflict of Ideals.

"Theirs not to reason why
Theirs but to do and die."

Judged by these standards not only India but many other parts of the Empire will be found wanting. His own Province had done the best and he seemed to challenge other provinces to come up to its level before setting forth claims for war services.

He digressed here and there but his main theme was an appeal to lofty patriotism. He referred to his own country as an "unhappy land," He is, perhaps, one of those who think that Sir Horace Plunkett has done more solid work for Ireland than all the politicians put together. This, of course, is a matter of opinion. The Civil Service honestly believes that India cannot be better governed, while the people are beginning to think that they must have a share in the shaping of their own destinies. The result is that India suffers from a conflict of Ideals. Sir Michael O'Dwyer

championed the existing order, at the same time giving his support to the new, recognising that "The old order changeth yielding place to the new."

* * *

Sir Michael O'Dwyer did not, perhaps, take fully into account that what guides a soldier to give his life joyfully is not blind obedience to authority but an inner faith, **Things of the Spirit.** an unconscious recognition of duty to the generations yet to come, and willing sacrifice to secure peace and prosperity for posterity. The question which British statesmen have to face is whether faith in the Government of India is as strong to-day as it was yesterday. If not, then the ideal for which Sir Michael O'Dwyer made a stand cannot be realised and his call is not likely to evoke response.

* * *

Lord Chelmsford was determined when he came to office to work in silence and without ostentation. He was familiar with the criticism which in official circles impugned the policy of his predecessor. **The decision of the Viceroy.** He was resolved not to seek popularity. He was determined to try the methods which appealed to those who claimed to know India. He gave it a full and a fair trial and for himself discovered the truth that a responsible Government has to do with the minds of men and its activity cannot be divorced from the mental plane and confined to administration only. After a careful consideration and direct experience he proclaimed his policy, to create an atmosphere of confidence and trust. He was making no departures. The members of the British Cabinet make all the use that they can of platform and press to bring home to the people the ideals and the policy of their Government. The Govern-

ment of India cannot remain an uninterested spectator when there are forces at work, which are changing the direction of popular opinion. The Viceroy saw that opinion in India was drifting away from the Government and he declared not only his own policy but that of His Majesty's Government. He lifted the veil and revealed that the year in which he acted as the trustee of the people of India was not barren of results.

He was able to prove that he made it his business to work in the direction in which the minds of men were moving to obtain practical results. It was an act of highest statesmanship and the declaration was made none too soon. He wished that attitude of mind to grow in which loyalty and devotion are born. He could not, therefore, let the seed that he was sowing to be spoilt at the start. The result was the incident in the Legislative Council which has been wrongly interpreted both by the Indian and Anglo-Indian press. It bears witness to the high courage, foresight and statesmanship of the Viceroy on the one hand, and the devotion to duty of Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the other.

*
* * *

George Washington once remarked, with an approach to impatience, that the people can never see what they do not feel. 'The will to serve' which marks the willing subordination of the individual to the State for the common good, is born of steadfast belief in the Government whether constitutional or autocratic;—the Service of the State is an act of faith. To permit doubt to invade the minds of men is to destroy the strength of the State, which is in the service of its citizens. The truth is, that despotism exacts rigid uniformity while the free play of many minds which

Divided Council.

a representative Government permits is the essence of freedom. The movement towards democracy has inevitably produced the usual diversity and conflict of opinions. The questions which all well-wishers of India and the Empire are called upon to ask and answer are:—Will divided Councils lead to stability? Will better feelings be promoted between the Indian and English people by agitation and counter agitation?

* *

Sympathy and States-
manship.

The man of the world does not see visions and dream dreams. No official thinks of abandoning "the meagre, stale, forbidding ways of custom, law and statute," for shortcuts to a new heaven and a new earth and yet the forces which play upon human nature must be taken into account. They are of such an infinite variety that their combined result is likely to transcend all calculations based on indirect apprehensions only. It is impossible without cultivating sympathy to understand people and popular movements. We can only truly understand that with which we sympathise, and much of the misunderstanding which prevails in the country is due to a divorce between government and the communal feeling. It must be remembered that success in the arts of statesmanship depends upon a true and right measure of the inherited and future interests of the people and probable course of emotions.

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Perennial Paradox.

The absence of uniformity in human affairs can be only compared to the changeableness in weather. The old India and the old traditions and the old ideals had to die that a new India might arise from the cremation ground of the old. The British Government had the option to

follow the old autocratic methods and keep alive the old atmosphere. The choice was made when the veil of the temple was rent, and men were encouraged to scoff at the light which had failed in the eyes of the flesh. The passing of the old India was not in darkness. The choice was made even before the days of Macaulay and now the harvest time is approaching. Democracy is good or bad according to the stage which people have reached in the art of self-government—that is to say the capacity of the individual to govern himself. Perhaps under old conditions men in India were trained to control the self more clearly than now. It was perhaps an unconscious control and now they are to learn to control consciously. There is no better school than the school of experience and a beginning is now to be made in India.

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His Majesty's Government after careful consideration
Sentiment and Sense. declared its policy to raise India to nationhood. The Secretary of State himself is coming to India to decide the first steps to be initiated towards self-government. The appeal which His Excellency the Viceroy made for a calm atmosphere should not be lightly passed over by Indians or Englishmen. This is the psychological moment in which the links will be forged which will bind England and India together in the future. There is a giving that blesses both the giver and the receiver. There is a grudging giving which spoils all the pleasure of the gift. There is an old saying, "the king gives but it is the steward whose stomach aches." In a world "nicely balanced between ruin and redemption" we must keep our eye on larger ends, remembering that "God fulfils himself in many ways."

The Hon. Mr. Basu, one of the signatories of the famous Memorandum of the Nineteen in the Imperial Legislative Council, and now member-designate of the Secretary of State's Council, has expressed his revised opinion that the Memorandum was hastily drawn up. Though the Congress and the Muslim League have set their seal to the document, it is not expected that the scheme of government therein set forth will be accepted by the Secretary of State as workable. Apart from that scheme, which will be discussed by Mr. Montagu in India, the debates at Simla last month brought out clearly the following Indian contentions:—first, that the insistence on a large majority of the British element in the higher ranks of the public services, as an essential condition of preserving the British character of the administration, is an undeserved reflection on Indian character and capacity; second, that throwing obstacles in the way of Indians competing with Europeans is palpable injustice; third, that the present administration is too costly for a poor country like India.

A commercial paper in Calcutta remarked, sometime ago, that the non-official European community there did not care a straw about Mrs. Besant's internment, and ridiculed the idea of a crusade against Home Rule flags. In Madras, however, the editor of the leading European daily declares that his community has been seriously disturbed by the release of the Home Rulers, and the cry has been taken up by the Calcutta papers. At the bottom of this agitation there is evidently some misunderstanding. The contents of the Government of India's confidential circular on the Home Rule agitation are not known to the

public, and Mrs. Besant's followers boasted that she had been released unconditionally. Therefore, many Europeans seem to think that the Government of India reversed the Madras Government's policy and acted weakly. This is not a correct interpretation of fact. Lord Chelmsford is the last person to be influenced by any idea of petty expediency or the mandates from the Secretary of State.

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The Irish Convention had to be adjourned as the Secretariat were not ready with information about the constitutional and administrative arrangements of the self-governing Dominions. The information collected for the Irish Convention may well be sent for by the Government of India as it will prove extremely useful to them and to Mr. Montague, and to the members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

We presume there is a library for the use of the Council. It ought, at this time, to be enriched with books dealing with the constitution of the United States of America, Canada, and Australia, New Zealand, France, Russia and other self-governing countries. There may be many old books in the library on the subject of the British Constitution but they will not suffice. They should be supplemented with all the latest literature on the subject. We suppose the library possesses all the volumes of Hansard, all the Statutes in force in the United Kingdom and Statutes relating to "Greater Britain", all the Orders in Council and a complete set not only of the laws in force in British India, but of all the rules made under those laws (including the rules relating to Municipal and other elections). A careful precis of these last rules detailing

especially the varieties of franchise already established is sure to be called for by Mr. Montague—for English statesmanship is nothing if not practical and the very first thing it takes into account for constructive purposes is what already exists as well as what has been already tried and found wanting.

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The Secretariat has probably all the necessary statistical information ready in a handy form. It will doubtless be able to say at once how many persons in each Presidency, Province or District

**The Publication of
Information.**

pay say Rs 5,000 a year or less as land revenue, how many pay the Income Tax, how many are graduates, or other literates and what communities are in a majority or in a minority. But information may not be forthcoming as to the homogeneity, organic strength, moral influence, affinities, predilections and tendencies of the various communities and it may be worth while to collect it, or to make it up-to-date. Eminent and trustworthy men of each large community may well be asked to give first hand information on such subjects.

The strength of caste and class feeling, the strength of the ancient democratic village and other organisations and the influence of each religion are also sure to be inquired into, also the number of lawyers, teachers, doctors, engineers and publicists; and the degree of political education received by the people, the number, membership, funds and prestige of political organisations, the trend of their opinions, the work done by them, and the courses which have led to the formation of the Anarchist group in Bengal almost negligible at present but likely to grow stronger if the causes are not removed. The Congress and the Muslim League ought to

be ready with the fullest information on these points in order to check and supplement official information.

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The various reform schemes now before the Government will have to be scrutinized.

Scrutiny of Schemes. Congress and the Muslim League have come to an agreement as to the proportional representation of the Mohammedan community. But that agreement should be supplemented (specially in the Madras Presidency) by agreements as to the representation of minor Hindu and other communities. There ought to be a settlement as to the method by which the agreements as to the proportional representation are to be carried out. Is each community to elect the number allotted to it? or is the whole electorate to send its votes for that number? The educative and unitive effect of this latter proposal will be very great but what may suit one province may not suit another, perhaps the best course will be to adopt this method of proportional representation as the advisory method and supplement it in special cases by communal elections.

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Information will also be required as to the best means of securing direct election to the Legislative Councils or assemblies, for we presume that the experience acquired in America and other places is not likely to be ignored by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Lastly information will be needed as to whether the registration of votes and the revision of voters' lists and the carrying out of the elections and the duties of returning officers should be entrusted in the main to the Revenue Department

or to the Judicial Department. Perhaps the best compromise will be to utilise officers appointed by the highest courts in each election centre for the purpose of revision and making returns and to leave all the other work to the Revenue Department.

Draft Bills embodying alternative proposals on the whole subject of self-government may facilitate the ordinary work of the Secretary of State, and the Government as well as public bodies may well prepare such Bills in order to present their views in a concise and lucid form.

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The following remarks of "The Nation" disclosing a point of view likely to appeal to every patriotic Englishman will be read with great interest in India. After recommending the completion of the scaffolding of British rule in Egypt, the paper says:—

"But our grand opportunity occurs in India. Here is no international complication, no menace of border savagery, such as faced Cromer and Kitchener. Here are vast populations, accustomed to our rule, and largely content with it, but under the visible influence of older civilizations, as well as of a political restlessness that they have caught from our own example. Here are gifted races apt at law and scholarship and as many of the arts of Government as we allow them to exercise. We pride ourselves with justice on such statesmanship as that of General Smuts. But a few months ago there died an Indian who in all the fine qualities of political and moral leadership would compare with the best of our stock; and who, if he were alive to-day, would honor any European Cabinet by sitting in it. Mr. Gokhale was attached to British rule, or to the kind of

British rule he wished to see established in India, and he did it inestimable service. But though Mr. Gokhale was the natural Prime Minister of a self-governing India, no Indian Viceroy save Lord Morley could find a use for him in the least degree commensurate with his gifts and character. There may be half-a-dozen Gokhales in India to-day; there may be a score to-morrow. But they will never come to any worthy fruit under the kind of bureaucracy which filled the Indian recruiting movement in the early days of the war, which insists on a purely European command for the Indian Army, and bars out the Indian from all the greater acts and responsibilities of Indian statesmanship. An Empire with a rigid colourbar is not yet a free Empire, call it what we will. But freedom is in the line of our character and genius. And they are obscured and defeated so long as the great problem of Indian self-government remains either untouched or weakly and half-heartedly attacked.

Is it, therefore, too much to hope that the spirit of liberalism will conquer, and that we shall go into the Peace Congress having set up a charter for Ireland and charters for India and Egypt? If so, we firmly believe that the battle of European and world freedom is won. If Germany and Austria are then unreformed, they will be subject to an envelopment which will be moral no less than physical. Prussia and Hungary will remain isles of autocratic militarism in the midst of a liberal and democratic continent. But much depends on us. Our old place in the world is vacant for us, for with all our backslidings, society needs no better model of freedom than that which the best parts of the British Empire yield it. But hitherto our influence in the Councils of the "Entente" has hardly been a libera

one; the true torch-bearers of democratic ideas have been America and Russia. Events, indeed have been merciful. We have tried to lose our liberties, and to step down from our seat of moral authority. But the times are out of joint for reaction. We have our chance. We can return thanks for the preservation of the British Empire by presenting it to the Congress as a finished example of democracy. The drama of a new international order, based, not on force, but on law and the consent that law brings, has begun. The curtain is rising and it should disclose a liberal British Empire, itself the model of a liberal constitution for the world."

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Malignant and ill natured criticisms of the Viceroy's speech are by no means scarce. It is assumed in certain interested quarters that the people of India are likely to misinterpret the present attitude of the Government of India as a "Climb Down". The people of India know better than that. Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge who made great innovations in accord with the demands of the people were never charged with weakly yielding to the pressure of popular agitation. They were known as "strong" men on the spot. On the other hand repressive legislation and methods of excessive caution or coercion have always been attributed to a government stricken with panic. A strong Government does the right thing at the right moment and the right thing always is and always will be to serve the best interests of the governed. What is a Government for if it is deaf to the voice of the people?

On the hills like Gods together
Careless of mankind.

WOMAN

THE LINK BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

THE fact that the world in which we live is not merely revolving but also evolving is patent to most people and there is now-a-days reason to suppose that humanity is approaching the close—not merely of one chapter but of a whole series of chapters—of nothing less than a volume in its history. It appears probable that at the present day we are contemplating the gradual disruption of a social system which has proved to be incapable of further expansion—that is of that Aryan civilisation which took its rise before even the earliest Vedic records.

There are not wanting signs that it is to be succeeded by something even greater and more noble than that ideal from which its name is derived, a civilisation which will be better adapted to the development of that portion of humanity represented by the feminine sex. To all intents and purposes Aryan civilisation has been masculine in character; man, as priest, as pater-familias, as nearest male relative and more especially as fighter, has ruled the destinies of the race, has dominated earth and even to a

great extent appropriated the keys of that Heaven, plainly supposed by him to be a locality arrived at after death by special permission of the sterner sex.

The British House of Commons, seated in the centre of the chief city of the Empire and one of the principal centres of civilisation, contains a significant and symbolical reminder of the relative importance of the sexes in a masculine civilisation. The head of an Indian girls' College has recently observed that hitherto "Woman has never been regarded as half of humanity, humanity has meant simply—Man." The modern mind is rapidly awakening to the crudity and absurdity of these conceptions. Thus we see England giving her women enfranchisement with good-will, and India rapidly awakening to the fact that her womanhood must be brought into line with her manhood and with womanhood throughout the world before any definite and permanent advance can be made. The place of a nation is determined by the status of its women. No sane person nowadays desires the re-introduction of slavery, but the practice was once upheld by Church and State and defended by the godly with many passages of Scripture. The enfranchisement of women being a *fait accompli* we shall doubtless soon come to regard the former state of affairs as a survival of barbarism.

The advent of woman will do much to hasten the final abolition of modern warfare or what can be more fitly described as "wholesale slaughter by machinery" for war is gradually being revealed for what it is—namely nature avenging herself upon a masculine civilisation for its

elimination of the feminine principle. If, forgetting for a moment the noise and tumult of this distracted Earth, we turn our eyes upwards to the Heavens, we cannot fail to be struck by the contrast of the harmony prevailing there and the condition of discord here. The secret of the harmonious motion of the heavenly bodies is none other than the law of gravity—that is the perfect balance between the centripetal tendency and the centrifugal force. Were either principle withdrawn the very Heavens would speedily precipitate themselves to mutual destruction. “Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven” has been the petition of Christendom for centuries, yet to-day we seem no nearer the consummation of our prayers, and Earth is as unlike Heaven as it well could be.

The balance of the sexes being improperly adjusted we plainly perceive that a masculine civilisation is destroying itself by its own impetus. Man is even more the victim of the present civilisation than woman, and though warfare like slavery may be and indeed has been, a necessary stage upon the road of human evolution, there is nothing to prove that it need be a permanent factor in human development. Indeed there are many signs that war will perish of its own frightfulness—that it carries in itself the seed of its own destruction. We know that pain carries in itself its own limitation of unconsciousness in the subject, and that similarly mental agony produces stupor and consequent apathy after a certain duration of time. War is now being revealed in all its hideousness, stripped by science of all sportsman-like characteristics, of knighthood, of all the glow of romance and glory of chivalry. War is

surely, therefore, entering upon its final phase, courting universal condemnation and consequent abolition. In the dawn of civilisation warring nations respected even the young crops as well as non-combatants. Now they wage war upon defenceless babes. "How are the mighty fallen!"

If this is really to be the last war, there can be no peace till "the world is made safe for Democracy" as President Wilson has said; peace being re-established, however, its preservation must be the peculiar care of woman-kind. Nowhere is there more scope for the mischief-maker and his counterpoise the peace-maker, or rather peace-keeper, than in India; for there the influence of woman though doubtless often felt is very latent. We lament that Indian women hold aloof from European society; does the orbit of the Anglo-Indian woman include much service of India? The pre-war woman in India had little leisure for any sort of public service—her hunting, her golf, her tennis, her garden parties, her dinners, her bridge, her musical comedy and afternoon calls constituted an orbit that scarcely seemed even to intersect the orbit of India. We may predict, however, that the post-war woman will find the round of social gaieties that make up the season at Simla or Calcutta—an existence of play in fact—holds little attraction for her in comparison with the opportunity now afforded her of becoming "humanity's sweetheart."

"We that have seen the strongest
Cry like a beaten child;
The sanest eyes unholy,
The cleanest hands defiled;

We that have known the hearts' blood

Less than the lees of wine,

We that have seen man broken

We know man is divine."

Therefore the uplifting of the poor and down-trodden of either sex, the education of women, the well-being of the peasant cultivator, the raising of national life through the leaven of good literature—all this and much more will absorb the attention of the post-war woman who is going to realise *the responsibility of the individual for the general condition*. Surely it will not be beyond the scope of womanly compassion and practical good sense of the Englishwoman nor of the ingenuity, skill and sweetness of her Indian sister to assist the powers that be in the up-building by mutual consent and common co-operation of a civilisation in which man and woman alike respond to the claim of all upon the time, the talent, the co-operation of each. Life has lately brought sorrow to nearly every British household and to many an Indian household also, but the Anglo-Indian woman has a peculiar painfulness in her lot, a dreary lack of clinging arms, child kisses and caresses. While she does her social duty to her neighbour, priceless years full of the little-folk lore in which happier mothers are so wise are slipping by—never to return. Her fate is hard yet never was there a country where the mother spirit and the mother touch in any mother was more revered or better understood than in India. For the temporary loss of her own nurselings hundreds of Indian hearts would compensate her—if she would allow herself to be

beloved. The Anglo-Indian woman has been in India the representative of Western womanhood, but more than that she is to Hindustan the daughter of Christendom. The oriental mind observant of conduct, studious of character expects to find in her its New Testament. What likeness would the daughter of England love best to leave behind her in the land of long memories?

Surely not merely that of the Mem-Sahib, an unknown quantity, a mysterious apparition of loveliness, ever being rapidly whirled away in carriage or motor past sight and sound of sorrow and suffering, through clouds of dust to society functions. No, for even as we conjure it up, the vision fades. Is this what woman was meant for? Surely No, rather to reach out tender arms—if emptied of their own nurselings—then to “all that are desolate and oppressed” in the patient East or in the weary West, this is the Chance of the Century to every woman for human love imperfect tho’ it be as all we have to mirror the Divine and to revive the Blessed memory of the King of Christendom—

“ It stands in a quiet corner
Close to the old Church door
Beside the common pathway
Appealing evermore;
Low, that the dimmest vision
The features may not miss;
Low, that the lips of children
May reached to cling and kiss.
How deep the nails are driven
In the hands they crucified!

So deep you can scarcely see them
But only the arms stretched wide.....
Give us to be that image
In the common paths like this,
Low that the lips of children
May reach to cling and kiss;
The nails of that crucifixion
So deep in the wounds must hide.
Men see no more the anguish
But only the arms stretched wide.
Lord ere Thou call our spirit
In Thine own hands to be,
Give us some such dear likeness
To leave behind of THEE."

KATHERINE STUART.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF INDIAN JOURNALISM

THAT change is the unchangeable Law of Nature was never more clearly brought home to the student of history than at the present time. As I said on a former occasion, "the rapid pace with which nations, all over the world, are advancing in the race for intellectual progress and political emancipation is absolutely unparalleled in the past history of mankind." The increasing spread of socialistic doctrines in the West and the growing influence of constitutional ideals in the East are producing a succession of political changes bewildering to the thoughtful student of world-politics. And in no part of this changing East are these powerful influences producing deeper effect on the political and social conditions prevalent amongst eastern communities than in the Indian continent. Here the internal conditions, already sufficiently complicated by reason of the heterogeneous character of our vast population, are becoming more and more complicated not only because of the effect of modern influences upon the lives of the Indian peoples, but also of international forces which, for good or for evil, are moulding the destinies of the world and are giving a lightning-like rapidity to the march of political events all

over the globe. The responsibility of the Press, under these circumstances, in giving a right direction to the mighty forces which are at play is not only great but is becoming greater and greater with the advance of time. And for the moment that responsibility is indeed supremely grave owing to the currents and cross-currents which have been set in motion in the ocean of world-politics by the unparalleled international crisis created by German militarism. The Indian Press, therefore, has to face, in this respect, a duty the seriousness of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

In proportion to the complicated nature of our political and sociological problems is the difficulty of arriving at a sound judgment with reference to the line of policy to be adopted. The ordinary individual has neither the necessary training nor even the time and inclination to study for himself the various aspects of the difficult problems we are face to face with. Under present day conditions, when the struggle for existence is becoming more and more acute all over the world and the generality of mankind have to devote their attention as well as energies to their personal and family needs, the majority of even men who have received a *modicum* of education are content to accept political opinions reflected in the columns of their favourite newspaper as the only guide for them to follow. Experience has made it clear beyond possibility of doubt that this is unquestionably true of the ordinary Indian newspaper reader—even more than of the generality of western people. The responsibility resting on the shoulders of our Indian Editors, therefore, is graver than is often realised and the

need for extra care and caution in this country is, in consequence, self-evident.

The Indian journalist, in common with every public man in this country, has three paramount duties to perform. (a) his duty to the great and glorious Empire of which India forms an integral part, (b) to the motherland, the devoted service of which should be a source of pride and pleasure, and (c) to the particular community of which he may be a member. The equitable apportionment of the gifts, with which a bountiful Providence has endowed him, in the successful performance of these sacred duties is a noble task worthy of his highest ambition. And though, at times, the Imperial, the patriotic and the communal responsibilities may appear to conflict, a careful consideration of the whole problem will convince him that the antagonism is not only merely apparent but is altogether illusory. The three interests are, in reality and in the long run, absolutely identical and, in consequence, have an equally legitimate claim upon his devoted energies.

Indian loyalty to the Empire is no longer a matter of speculative interest to the student of international politics. Recent events must have convinced even a Bernhardt that his reading of the political situation in India was utterly wrong. Barring a few inevitable and, to my mind, unimportant incidents here and there, the overwhelmingly vast majority of His Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects have, since the outbreak of the World War, demonstrated their abiding loyalty to the British Crown beyond a possible shadow of doubt. They all recognise that the vital interests

of India are bound up with British interests: her future destiny lies within the British Empire. Under the enlightened influences of British Rule, our motherland has already made and is making satisfactory progress in the race of intellectual and material advancement. Excepting the Supreme Headship of Government, Imperial and Provincial, there is no office in the Government of this country, however high, to which properly qualified Indians may not aspire. It is quite true that India, as a member of this great Empire, was, till recently, suffering from certain disabilities: she was still knocking at the outside gate for admission to the Imperial Federation. But the new atmosphere created by common efforts and common sufferings in this terrible war, the new spirit of comradeship born of the common sacrifices of blood on the battle-fields of three continents, could not but cement the fellow citizenship between His Britannic Majesty's subjects in all parts of the Empire. The acceptance by His Majesty's Government of my Resolution on our country's representation in the Imperial Conference, the recent participation of India's representatives in the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial Conference, and the Prime Minister's pronouncement regarding Indian representation on the future Imperial annual Conferences, have ensured our country a fair prospect of obtaining her proper place in the "Family Council" of the greatest Empire the World has ever known. In his advocacy of India's claims to her full status in this Family Council, it behoves the Indian journalist to avoid criticism of the past and to approach Imperial questions in a spirit of hopefulness, dealing with the problems we

have to face in the light of those principles of constructive statesmanship which alone lead to ultimate success. It should be his task to bring home to the British and Colonial public that we Indians fully recognise that the destinies of our motherland are bound up with those of the Empire itself, and when once this is realised by British statesmen in England and the Colonies, it is impossible to conceive that our countrymen, representing over 75 per cent of the entire population of the Empire, will not obtain their full rights of citizenship of Greater Britain.

The soul-stirring duty of serving our mother-land and devoting our best energies to the sacred cause of her regeneration are themes upon which the Indian journalist has spent and will naturally continue to spend the powers of his pen with a fervent zeal and a deep earnestness pleasing to the hearts of all true lovers of India. And though, at times, here and there he has failed to keep the principles of constructive statesmanship in view and has either succumbed to the baneful influences of momentary excitement or thought more of playing to the gallery than of leading public opinion in the right direction, these occasional lapses are, after all, perfectly natural to a transitional period. Even the worst critic of Indian journalism must recognise that our Indian Press has, on the whole and barring a few exceptions, exercised its powerful influence in combating evil forces and in upholding the cause of law and order. What the Indian journalist has always to bear in mind is that just as a reactionary spirit, like a gangrene, eats into the very vitals of a progressive community and deserves of all condemnation at the hands of all right-thinking men, so

is the spirit of extremism an equally fell disease destructive of all progressive forces and calculated not only to hamper but to shatter advance along the right lines. In all countries and in all ages it is the Progressive Moderate who has been the backbone of ordered progress: it is the practical statesman and not the political visionary who has, by solid, constructive work, built up the greatness of nations. And this is particularly true of the East where the ordinary mind is naturally more imaginative than practical. Here, if progress is to be of a permanent character, what we want is gradual evolution and not revolution. Whatever our ultimate ideal for our country may be—whether it be “Colonial Sawaraj” or “the attainment, under the *aegis* of the British Crown, of a system of self-Government suitable to India”—what we have got to remember is that the ultimate goal can be reached only by gradual and steady progress from stage to stage. *It is not along a shaky bridge built in haste upon weak piers and with spans too long to be capable of resistance that an engineer can hope to take his train successfully over even a river of average size, much less over the mighty and turbulent rivers of India.* It would be out of place to discuss the relative merits or the practibility of the two ideals of the Congress and the League in this article. So far as the vast majority of Indian Musalmans are concerned, the former was positively rejected and the latter adopted after careful consideration at the Lucknow Anniversary of the Muslim League over which I had the honour of presiding. What I wish here to emphasize is that the Indian journalist should recognise the ultimate goal can only be reached after necessary

apprenticeship and progress will be permanent only if it is steady and from stage to stage. To seek to unduly accelerate the speed often results in retarding national advancement by bringing about break-downs in the highest degree detrimental to the best interests of our country. The Indian journalist, therefore, while setting his face against the forces of reaction and combating, with all his might, ultra-conservative forces calculated to retard legitimate advancement, should, at the same time, earnestly strive against extremist tendencies which are equally destructive of progress along the right lines. Under the existing complicated political conditions, more particularly in this country, it is the Progressive Moderate who alone can be of real and lasting service to his motherland. Reasonable demands couched in sober and dignified language have and, to my mind, must have every chance of success: extravagant propaganda carried on in unnecessarily strong and offensive language is foredoomed to failure.

The heterogeneous mass of our Indian population consists of a number of communities which, with the expansion of modern education and culture, are coming more and more under the unifying influences of an increasing community of interests. But in a large continent like India, with a population of over 310 millions, this process of unification must obviously be gradual. Meanwhile, the religious, historical and social traditions and ideals which influence the communal lives of the various groups have produced complicated results which find no parallel in any other country in the world. And so long as the evolution of a

common Indian nationality, which all genuine well-wishers of the country must ardently long for, does not become an accomplished fact, it is obviously natural for each community to seek to protect its communal interests by securing its due share in the administrative and legislative machinery of the country and by taking steps calculated to promote its material and intellectual advancement. And so long as this is done in no spirit of hostility to other communities, the resulting benefit is undoubtedly conducive to the best interests of our motherland, for is not the good of a part the good of the whole? A Hindu leader devoting a portion of his time and energies to the advancement of our Hindu brethren while, at the same time, promoting the cause of Indian regeneration is undoubtedly a true Indian patriot. If a Madan Mohan Malviya, striving for the organisation of a Hindu University in the sacred city of Benaras, working the Hindu Communal machinery for the propagation of Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India, is hailed by the nationalist School as a stalwart nationalist leader by reason of his simultaneous all-India activities, why should a Muhammadan or Sikh worker, ready to co-operate with his non-Muslim or non-Sikh brethren in the service of our common motherland, be branded as a separatist simply because he too, like the Hon'ble Pandit, is, at the same time, devoting a portion of the gifts with which a bountiful Providence has endowed him to the protection of his community's interests? As I said in my Lucknow address, "a joint family system in which the junior member must be content to sink his individuality and to remain under the permanent tutelage of the *Karta* is foreign to

EAST & WEST

our religious, political and social traditions"—and, I may add, foreign to the traditions of all non-Hindu communities in this country. The Indian journalist, therefore, should, instead of adversely criticising those—be they Christians, Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs or Parsis—who, while working heart and soul for the good of India as a whole, are also striving to promote the welfare of their own communities, should be liberal minded enough to perceive that all are equally serving the cause of their motherland. To misrepresent the motives and misinterpret the activities of such workers is not the best way of promoting inter-communal unity and co-operation. Impracticable ideals unsuited to the actually existing conditions constitute no safe guide for public activities. To look at things in their true perspective, to make our methods suited to actual conditions and to pitch our demands neither too high nor too low are the principles of practical statesmanship which should be our guiding stars in the present political conditions of India. A high pride in the citizenship of the mighty Empire of Greater Britain, intense devotion to the cause of Indian regeneration, and a legitimate desire for the promotion of communal interests in no spirit of hostility to the sister communities should be the guiding principles of the Indian journalist.

MUHAMMED SHAFI.

Lahore.

LABOUR AND LEISURE

WE often hear the phrase, "nobility of labour," quoted as though this alleged characteristic of labour were axiomatic and required no proof. To some, however, this ascription of nobility to labour may seem extremely dubious, and even paradoxical. Labour, in the sense of routine drudgery, may be absolutely necessary, but why noble? In the Hebrew Bible, the work of tilling the ground is not looked upon as noble, but is imposed as a curse on the erring race of man; and in the great epic of *Paradise Lost*, John Milton, with probably an unconscious touch of humour (for he was but scantily endowed with that faculty), represents our mythical ancestral pair as somewhat embarrassed, even before the Fall, with the enormous labour of keeping their very extensive Garden in order :

"The work under our labour grows,
Luxurious by restraint; what we by day
Lop, overgrown, or prune or prop or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth derides,
Tending to wild."

What a paradox is Man among the animals, to which he is biologically allied! Few animals voluntarily work

hard; a certain number of them play indeed, but most of them are glad to rest, and do not seem bored, however long their leisure time may be. There is a harmony about the life of an animal: it is at peace with itself, it raises no problems, it does not turn its consciousness inward upon itself. On the other hand, Man is restless, and the vast amount of work he undertakes is consciously or unconsciously done as a means of escape from himself. It is often the result of an intellectual lethargy, which shrinks from research into fundamental problems.

We used to be told in catechisms, in the good old Victorian days, that the chief end of man was to glorify God and to contemplate his wonderful works; but while we neglect this, or let it pass respectfully as a pious opinion, we have presented to ourselves no alternative solution to the question "What is the end of Man?"

Certainly we have a working and practical solution of the problem. Judging by men's actions, the chief end of Man is to get the best living he can, either by labour or otherwise, to marry and bring up children, whom, when he dies, he may leave behind him, to carry on the same sort of life as he himself lived. This is much the life of the coral polyp; yet one can hardly say that the average man rises above that ideal.

Praise of work often proceeds from incapacity for leisure. Surely Man's spirit has a life of its own contemplation, self-realisation, self-orientation, the finding of its real place in the universe.

The tragedy is that many who *have* this capacity for leisure are not allowed to enjoy it in the midst of our utilitarian civilisation. Such a one must labour, labour, and ever labour or else be stigmatised as a "slacker." Being perhaps of a dreamy, unpractical temperament, he is unable to pick and choose in this work a day world, but must take the first distasteful drudgery which offers. There he is fixed, bound, like Prometheus on his rock, while the vulture of discontent devours his heart. Or he may be compared to Lancelot, who for a time was doomed to be vanquished by "mean knights", or our unworldly hero will find himself surpassed by men of much inferior talents, who have known better how to fashion themselves to the demands of this harsh, unintelligible world. We have heard of "mute, inglorious Miltons," but few stay to pity them. Yet for a Milton to be mute and inglorious means spiritual torture.

Doubtless many such are crushed by the necessity of labour, and can smile but a sardonic smile when they hear of the nobility of the tyrant which squeezes the soul out of them. They demand more spaciousness in their lives, room to grow, less hurry and scurry. Real life for the man of contemplation is in his own mind: he would wrap himself up in his own soul.

Leisure is the necessary condition of true culture. Culture doubtless is difficult to define, especially for the information of those who have it not, and who are apt to be prejudiced against it, associating it with the peculiar mentality of our German enemies. It may be said, however, that the one essential element in culture is *taste*. And how few people have taste, or think that taste matters!

I once had occasion to point out to a rather matter-of-fact youth whom I was attempting to instruct in the Latin tongue, that in a language everything cannot be reduced to exact rule. The precise form of expression is often, I told him, a matter of taste. He treasured up this dictum in his mind, with intent to use it against me; and the next time I had occasion to correct his latinity he assured me that the mode of expression he had used was *his* taste and carried therefore, its own justification with it. If a point was to be decided by taste, he thought that meant you could please yourself, and one person's taste was as good as another's. I tried to impress upon my argumentative young friend that if a thing is a matter of taste, that does not mean that it is of no importance. On the contrary taste is of the utmost importance. In Latin, as in other languages, one can only acquire good taste by reading the best authors and noticing their turns of expression.

My pupil's frank assumption that taste does not matter, astonishing though it was for the moment, I soon perceived to be a not uncommon view. Taste is the last thing that the uneducated or partially educated learn, if they ever learn it at all. To the struggling masses *utility* of the narrowest kind appeals more strongly than any kind of beauty, whether of words or things. This utilitarian tendency was strong in the youth referred to; for I noticed he had a deadly fear of "wasting time" over anything that would not be required in his examinations.

Such a state of mind is, of course, hopeless for any true culture. The youthful Demos will apply enormous energy

in learning things which he takes to be useful. He will learn facts and cut-and-dried theories off by heart. He will even *think* in a hard-headed manner. He will, perhaps, develop new ideas in applied science. But the last thing he will learn is to appreciate the charm of a poem, of a statue, or of felicitous literary expression. The "What does it prove?" attitude towards *Paradise Lost* is by no means exceptional. To the masses literally, "art is quite useless."

One great evil, resulting from this working of the masses' mind is the degradation of popular literature. The form of current literature is now dictated by the bodily and spiritual heirs of men who did not read at all. It is still true, what Lord Derby said in 1867, "we must educate our new masters;" for the last and crowning touch of education has not yet been given.

The way in which short stories in magazines are written in England is a proof of the execrable taste of their readers. A form adapted to the crudest taste is deliberately cultivated by story tellers. There are certain so-called "literary experts," who profess to give instruction in the elegant art of writing fiction. Apparently anybody can learn it. The principal point seems to be that you must begin with some very astonishing scene or startling remark, so as to arrest the reader's attention. This method reminds one of the procedure at a revivalist prayer meeting, where the attention must not be allowed to flag for an instant, lest the crowd should melt away.

Surely an author endowed with taste would begin in a low key, and endeavour to create an atmosphere suitable

for the framework of his story. The modern story-writer, on the contrary, seems to take for an ideal opening the first line of Shelley's *Cenci*, that sensational exordium—

“That matter of the murder is hushed up!”

These writers begin with the climax, hoping thus to secure our attention while they reveal to us, perhaps on somewhat dull lines, what led up to the climax. Few stories so flung out, as though to claim a hearing from a jaded worker, can be worth reading at all.

Thus it has become almost the rule to begin stories in the middle, or even at the end. The story of Jesus Christ, written in “up-to-date” style, would begin with the crucifixion, so as to make us curious as to what events can have preceded such an extraordinary development.

People who are devoid of culture cannot understand what a sharp dividing line taste can be. A certain popular author has lately assured us that laxities of pronunciation and lack of grammar are quite indifferent to him. But what is that but to proclaim his own want of taste or lack of culture? To a man of trained mind it would be torture to hear the wife of his bosom, however estimable in her morals and temper, talk about the 'ouse, the 'ome, or “them things;” because such modes of speech betray an incurable slovenliness of mind and looseness of thought. An ill-dressed mind is as repulsive as a clumsily clad body.

The great French story-tellers, such as Guy de Maupassant and Prosper Mérimée, never commence their tales in that detestable manner. Our writers do so, not

because it is good style, but because it appeals to the ignorant instincts of the masses, whom they should on the contrary endeavour to train to better taste. The ancients knew and practised the principle that the interest of the story or drama should rise to a climax, which should occur a little before the end, the conclusion falling on a lower and softer note. This was also the principle followed by Shakespeare.

Engineering, electrical science, economics, etc., appeal to the half educated, but never poetry. When Shakespeare is read in the elementary schools, I often wish it could be ascertained how many of the children really feel the touch of his poetry, are really impressed by him in any way. A boy who was so impressed I would myself prefer to another who knew all the notes off by heart.

Unless the life of the masses can be dignified and more leisure introduced into it—leisure, which they must be brought to employ in a worthy manner—it would seem that the old dictum of Plato must still hold good, that a really civilised society can only be founded upon slavery, that is to say, slavery either actual and acknowledged or a virtual slavery occasioned by penury. A really civilised man must not only possess leisure but the capacity to make good use of it.

The wreck of democratic society is to be found in the absence of taste and leisure with which must be coupled the frequent inability to employ leisure in those who have it. The frank lack of culture in the great mass of men and the impossibility of their managing their lives is shown by

the naive inquiry, when a man retires from business at a comparatively early age, "What will he do with himself?" The business world in general thinks that there is no use in life beyond working and making money, with relaxation or foolish amusements in the intervals. We must combine with this, of course, the occupation of bringing up families to live ultimately the same kind of life.

Thus, for a democracy to be successful, a certain touch of the old aristocratic spirit must be introduced into it. Our aim should be that all who are capable of it should have the opportunity of enjoying those intellectual and aesthetic pleasures which in most periods of the world's history have been the reserved privilege of the few. We must rescue the mob from the aspersions of poets such as Shakespeare, who always speaks disrespectfully of the "many-headed monster," or Scott and Tennyson who weave an atmosphere of gentility about most of their heroes and heroines. In short, as the people have been already partially educated in physical science, in mechanics, in chemistry, in economics, so they may be trained in aesthetics, in taste and the use of leisure.

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BEGGARY IN INDIA : ITS VARIETIES AND CHARMS.

SOME wise one has set afloat the remark, " beg, borrow or steal " showing three clear-cut methods of making a livelihood apart from earning it. Of these the one most easy-going, the most free from forethought, is begging. Borrowing implies in itself a return with interest. Stealing implies a moral obliquity. Begging alone is free from the haunting terror of the creditor and the policeman. In the East no policeman dogs the steps of a beggar. Here he enjoys the freedom of the whole continent. No legislative enactment interferes with the career of mendicancy, or withdraws opportunities of indiscriminate charity. The beggar and the giver have it and haggle it over between them. Necessity forces some men to beggary, others join the sacred brotherhood for the easy life it affords, and yet others are moved by the divine impulse to beg which is as strong in some men as the divine impulse to give is in others.

India is the land of endless variety, and endless also are the ascetics who saunter the streets of Benares and Rameshwar as veritable kings. The Sanyasin comes in the van, and is the very aristocrat of beggary. Then comes the complacent Brahmin, the gypsy-like Bairagies and crowds drawn from all classes depending on charity. The sweepers who collect the leavings from door to door may also be included in the commonwealth of beggars.

The Sanyasin is only nominally a beggar, for he rarely begs. The rules of his order require that he should beg his food daily, like the old mendicant friars of Europe. But he is generally provided with the comforts of an abbey, and when he goes about he is invited to rich houses and is fed sumptuously. He often rides an elephant or palanquin, and is preceded by a band of pipes and drums. In his case as in that of the Brahmin boy, in the probationary period of study and at the ceremony of the Sacred Thread, begging is required by religion, but it is a mere make-believe and they rarely beg. Here and there you meet a few boys from the villages who are away from their home for study, who about midday call at a few houses for food, which they take home and dine upon. Generally poverty and love of laziness draw people to this easy way of earning a living. The Sanyasin as well as the Brahmacharin take only cooked things; and the latter has a set formula which he repeats at every step, "Madam, give me alms" which is answered by the house-wife with a handful of cooked rice generally. The begging is sanctified by religious prescription.

Another Brahminical class reduced to beggary is composed of those without patrimony and education to adorn

any clerical post. They place on their forehead bright caste-marks, and take in their hand a burnished brass bowl and go repeating passages from Geeta, or Sahasranam, the versified thousand names of Vishnu. The others recite songs of Krishna, or of the 'softer heroism of the noble Rama, or again songs magnifying the glories that could be gained by religious devotion as opposed to the wordly life. They sing these compositions with sweetness and passion, to the accompaniment of the tambourine, or the cymbal.

Then come the non-Brahminical professional class Bairagies, who are supposed to have renounced all earthly attachments. Their parties are composed indiscriminately of men and women of all ages and conditions. They go in parties of six or seven mendicants, and in a sing-song tone the leader recites certain formulæ which are responded to by the rest, not unlike the strophe and antistrophe of the Greek stage, in old times. These Bairagies wander like the gypsies, though they do nothing at all in the way of fortune telling, or hawking their wares. They are a rambling tribe, and try to impose on the credulity of men and women, and engage their sympathy, by giving out that they are pilgrims to Benares or Badari, or to Rameshwar. They do not easily take a refusal, and sometimes the householder have to drive them out of the streets by sheer force. Rarely too some Bairagy—with a high opinion of himself—enters a street and keeps trudging from one end of it to the other, repeating some formulæ in which the name of Ram, finds frequent occurrence, and never goes out of the street until the householders collectively offer him a good measure of rice and money.

From the lower classes come three or four varieties which are picturesque in their own way. They come from the hill tribes and affect to read the messages of birds, explain the significance of omens, foretell and predict future events, generally favourable to the listener. Their long beards, red turbans, loose robes, and shell necklaces, the miniature drum held in one hand and sounded with a knotted cord attached to it, have a great charm for children. Another class called "Dosas" have glaring face-marks, and Rajput turbans, and beads round their neck; they blow the conch and sing loose rhymes in which frequently occur the names of Hari and Ramanuja. They make at every doorstep a deafening noise and people hurry to them with alms to get rid of the noise.

Women too sometimes turn to beggary and wander with a begging bowl, some of them repeating songs descriptive of sacred legends and stories of the Avtaras.

About the hour of the cowdust comes another visitor, ash-smeared with matted hair, with a rope round his chest, carrying a pair of clanking iron tongs in one hand and a skull shaped bowl in the other. In front of each door he shakes his clanking tongs and exclaims "Sita Ram." He is supposed not to speak to laymen, not to go back on his way, or to keep two feet on the ground at a time. He is always restless and on the go. He carries a small bag of ashes, and they are considered sacred, and children tremblingly approach him and hold out the hand for a pinch. Mothers mysteriously speak of him as the inhabitant of cremation grounds, and the awful midnight companion of spirits and ghosts.

Another personage in whom children take great interest is the recluse who does not use his legs but rolls side long in his course, invoking the great God of Tirupati, with a yellow cloth covering his person, with flaring Vaishnavite caste marks diffused over his face and body, holding up in his right hand a brass vessel covered with a cloth with just a hole in the middle to receive coins. He rolls in the burning sun. His body is plunged in dust, sweat streams from his face, and he breathes hard with exertion, and yet there is not a word of complaint. Occasionally you come across a man with a metal wire passing through both his cheeks to prevent him from opening his mouth. At the approach of some domestic calamity he made a vow of this kind of pilgrimage to God, and by way of fulfilling it, he is begging his way there.

Then there are beggars pure and simple, men and women with maimed, deformed or defective limbs who must beg, and are common to all countries. They surround the gates of temples, the streets of sacred cities, the steps to bathing ghats visited by thousands of distant pilgrims every year who dispense charity as a matter of duty. Sometimes the beggar is better off than the householder. He gets always enough for himself and often can save a little for the rainy day.

The modern Sanyasi travels in comfort and expects a higher standard of living. They all have a resolution and a will. The Sadhus are sure they are living for God only. How fruitful they could make their activities if they consecrated themselves to social and educational work and

infused an element of spirituality and self-renunciation in the growing life of the country which is slowly moving fowards other Gods.

J. R. JOSYER.

SONNET.

The Muse, whose voice is thought, that hath its bloom,
Long since had left my poor domain and me,
When golden light sank into golden gloom,—
And gloom to darkness touch'd with mystery:
I wander'd forth to seek her new abode,
But found the flowers that are betroth'd to Death,
Deep in the shade their waxen petals glow'd,
Like quiet stars undimm'd by vaporous breath:
If beauty could unseal my lips and eyes,
Thy loveliness sweet Champax would bear fruit,—
No scented blossom on Night's bosom lies
As fair as thine; and yet my lips are mute.
Death's bride thou art. Thy flowers adorn'd her brow,—
My love, that I so loved, and weep for now.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES.

ONE result of the War has been to awaken a spirit of inquiry in industrial and commercial circles in Great Britain as to the supply of raw material needed in many branches of manufacture that can be obtained from various parts of the Empire, and especially from India: a country whose natural resources have hitherto been overlooked to an extent as surprising as it was great. Outside the seaboard towns like Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, few European Firms and Companies troubled themselves to ascertain the possible success of establishing new trading ventures or expanding those already in existence. In fact there was a feeling that India might compete in the East too favourably with Lancashire or other British centres of commerce.

The war has changed the angle of vision. There is ample scope for industrial development in all parts of the Empire without any fear of serious competition within the Empire! The idea is gaining ground that the great natural wealth of India should be summoned to assist the Mother Country in the coming struggle with German trade and to prevent—once and for all—the wily

Hun from recovering the hold he had gained on the markets of India—a state of things which might easily have been prevented by the exercise of a little foresight on the part of the agents and representatives of our commercial houses engaged in trade with India and a keener demand for local information among business men at Home.

Government cannot fairly be blamed for the way in which Germany captured so large a share of Indian trade, since it is primarily concerned with the general administration, and schemes of industrial development only occupy secondary a place. It was held that the creation and management of Industries is best left to private enterprise. However, during the last ten years, there is not an Indian Province where the Local Government has not bestirred itself to introduce an additional factor in promoting the future prospects of India and its inhabitants. Departments have been formed to deal with all matters affecting agriculture and the manufactures equipped with necessary means and with a staff of experts from Europe, whose discoveries the big landowners are beginning to appreciate. The administration too is becoming every day more Indianised and His Excellency the Viceroy himself spoke of finding a wide sphere for the employment of Indian talent, besides the learned professions. Before entering on a detailed description of any particular industry, it must be explained why outside assistance is so essential for developing manufacturing schemes. For many years to come, two elements are indispensable for the successful development of Indian industries, namely a certain amount

of outside financial support and, even more important, British driving power, supervision, and managing skill. It may be objected that India contains a large number of very wealthy individuals, merchants of good repute, heads of Indian firms and owners of large estates, who might be relied on to furnish any funds sought for by a Company embarking on a trustworthy industrial undertaking or interested in an existing enterprise that only lacks money to yield handsome return, while materially adding to the standard of comfort among the inhabitants of that part of the country where operations were carried on. Unfortunately the failure of several Banks, started under purely Indian control, has left behind a feeling of distrust and investors are very shy to trust their money to men who have no business experience. Industries conducted by a Board composed of Indian Directors have frequently had lamentable endings. The Indian management is shy of incurring initial expenses, it has a tendency to effect injudicious economies; to do without a staff of expert workers; and eventually to spoil the ship for the sake of the proverbial half-penny worth of tar. Of course it is but right that the Indian capitalist who pays the piper should be entitled to call the tune, but care should be taken to ensure his selecting the kind of music best suited to the instruments at his command. The leading manufacturing Companies in India all employ European Managers and qualified Engineers and experts, hence the satisfactory state of the Cotton and Woollen Mills of Cawnpore which are doing enormous business and earning large profits. Just at present there are two Industries

calculated to help the Empire as well as benefit the cultivator and the capitalist: the manufacture of sugar and paper.

Sugarcane can be grown in almost any part of India wherever there are any means of irrigation forthcoming, the making of *gur* and sugar for the manufacture of the numerous kinds of sweetmeat that constitute a large portion of the daily diet of the population, has been practised—according to rather crude methods—for centuries past. With the appearance of Sugar Factories worked in accordance with scientific ideas and on thoroughly business lines, an impetus has been given to cultivators and landowners to put a wider area under cane than used to be the rule.

The procedure followed by sugar manufacturers in the United Provinces has been borrowed from the system employed in the Opium Department, and may be briefly described. Advances of money, at the rate of eight rupees per bigha (a fifth of an acre) are given to cultivators who, on their side, contract to cultivate a certain quantity of cane. When this is harvested the price of the cane is handed over, after deducting the advance already mentioned. A plan much relished by the Indian agriculturist for it lets him have a small amount of hard cash at a time when this is of great help and the sugarcane crop usually gives a handsome return. Thanks to the successful experiments conducted by members of the Agricultural Branch, a species of cane has now been found, capable of more than doubling the output per acre and consequently producing a larger supply of juice. The problem of sugar

manufacture in India has, therefore, resolved itself to one of finance; having enough capital to set up a factory and make the necessary advances to cultivators. Good sugar factories under European management, are earning profits ranging from 8 to 12 per cent—and this without the least fear of loss. It is an industry which deserves support. Want of capital to extend the operations has, so far, prohibited the Indian sugar manufacturer from being able to compete with his Dutch rivals in Java, where every means to assist the trade—by Government subsidies and so forth—has secured imported sugar a place in the Indian market which ought rightly to be occupied by the home produce. The foregoing remarks are based on personal acquaintance with sugar factories in the United Provinces—seat of the largest and oldest concerns engaged in this industry—and are not applicable to the whole of India, being a country of distances—where communications are not of the most perfect description, despite the marvellous improvement effected by Government in the construction of new lines of railway, extension of old ones, and the slow but certain conversion of bad roads into metalled highways suited for cart traffic at all seasons of the year, in the rains as well as at other times.

The future of sugar manufacture may honestly be said to be very promising, since the Indian population require sugar for their daily fare in just the same way as the Englishman does his loaf of bread or pound of meat. Old, and absurd prejudices against sugar supplied from a factory have nearly vanished, and the Indian buyer is shrewd enough to see the superiority of the article made

according to scientific methods to what he can purchase from Indian dealers at slightly lower cost. In the times to come the trade done by a Sugar Company ought to become a "gilt-edged" investment and defy foreign competition. It is simply a question of money for bringing a much larger extent of land under cane cultivation which will help the cultivator on the one hand and help the growth of an indigenous industry on the other.

If the demand for sugar is enormous among the Indian population—who regard it a staple item in their daily bill of fare—that for paper is nearly as large. The amount of stationery used by Government in every branch of the public administration, by railways, and private firms, is hardly credible till one remembers the *cacoethes scribendi* with which dwellers in the East seem to be infected. Much of this scribbling might possibly be avoided, but is thoroughly believed in by the clerks who are at once the mainstay and the terror of British officials. The Baboo loves to watch a File growing in bulk, with its "reminders," its references to other Branches, its "true copies" forwarded from one Department to another, its Orders for information and future guidance; and has survived Lord Curzon's pruning knife. Hence one would naturally expect the business of manufacturing paper to be a very lucrative one in India. Such is unfortunately not the case! Despite an efficient staff of Europeans, to supervise the working of a Mill; with machines of the proper description; with cheap labour; and with the experience gained by fifty years establishment in the country; the paper manufacturer in India finds himself unable to compete with the foreign

importers. The outbreak of hostilities in Europe found a daily newspaper in Northern India, dependent for its stock of paper on Sweden, although the chief Paper Mill in that part of India was less than four miles from the Press. The reason is that the material from which pulp is made is uncertain both in quality and supply. That is why paper factories occupy a poor financial position and have failed during the last fifty years to capture Indian demand. German and Austrian merchants flooded the bazars with their goods, while Government orders were perforce divided between the manufacturer in Great Britain and his less successful rivals in India. Pulp is usually obtained from rags and similar worthless refuse and also from grasses but the available supply is inadequate to meet the requirements and provide for paper of various grades, texture and colour. The help of the Forest Department was invited in hopes of finding out some good substitute for turning into pulp and several substances were pronounced capable of giving a good supply having the necessary fibre to produce paper equal to the imported, both in quality, quantity, and price. Bamboos--of which an inexhaustible store exists in the forests of Burma and Assam--besides in other parts of the country, if in less degree--were first named as excellent pulp material and certainly stood the test of examination by experts in the United Kingdom, but when the long canes arrived at a Mill, trouble began. The means of extracting the pulp were found inadequate and bamboo as a pulp produce has temporarily been relegated to a back seat. It has likewise been ascertained that the Nepalese—who make paper of a peculiar sort—procure their pulp from

timbers of various species, but enquiries there have not gone beyond the range of speculation.

Yet a third member of the vegetable kingdom comes forward to assist the Indian paper industry out of its existing difficulties and the pulp question now stands a very fair chance of a satisfactory solution. Of the numerous kinds of grasses found in the Terai—adjoining territory of Nepal—none is more abundant than the Baib plant (*Ischaemum Angustifolium*), and specimens of this grass were sent to England a few years ago to be tested by experts with the happy result that pulp obtained from Baib has been declared equal in standard and qualities to the best furnished from other sources. Since a light railway traverses the district where the Baib is found, the future of this industry is merely a matter of capital sufficient for building a Factory ; fitting it with the requisite machinery ; and organising labour for cutting and conveying the grass—of which there are two crops in a year—from the jungle to the headquarters of the Company. The demand for paper pulp will continue to increase, and whoever is lucky enough to be first in the field with a supply of that article has every prospect of a fortune before him. The investment can safely be classed with those termed “gilt-edged.” The outbreak of the War has frightened the Indian Board of Directors from immediately starting work : a sad error of judgment on their part for by commencing operations without delay their Company would—for some time at all events—hold a monopoly where the paper trade in India is concerned. A lease of a large tract of jungle—under the control of the Forest Department has been granted

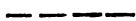
to a Company on very easy terms, but it is still looking for more guarantees. The Administration can scarcely do more without departing from the fixed policy of non-interference with private enterprise. Once the provincial authorities took a prominent part in the development of one industry, they would be compelled to do so in all cases or incur a charge of favouritism.

Were the Baib industry set properly going without any more hesitation, the paper trade would receive a much needed ally—apart from the export of pulp that would naturally ensue once things were in full swing at the Baib Factory.—This will add another and most profitable branch of manufacture to the slowly increasing list of Indian Industries. One fervently hopes the Commission about to consider such problems in India with Sir T. Holland as its President, will devote special attention to the possibilities of sugar manufacture and pulp production and insist on action taking the place of words.

Sahajchanpore.

ARTHUR GORDON.

MUSINGS AND COMMUNINGS.



THE human mind has innumerable facets. The house-fly has about four thousand facets, each of which is a lens, to make up its physical eye. The butterfly has seventeen thousand. It is now found that the epidermal cells of many plants are similar lenses. The multitude of leaves of several forest trees is "arranged in pattern and mosaic to catch the sun-rays, and the myriads of their epidermal cells are each a tiny lens, focussing within itself a spot of brilliant light." The sycamore and Peruvian acanthus and some other trees have also ocelli or special light-receptive cells, which are small polished lenses. Therefore, there is "a revel of illumination...hidden within the greenness" of the foliage of a tree, and it is a powerful factor in its life. The Buddhas and the Christs, towering over ordinary humanity like the Himalayas, were able to focus the brilliancy within, and thus become guides to men and women. Their inner eye was their Day, and they did not squander "the least of its gazes or glances." Their bodies did not cumber their souls or the flights of their souls. They laboured to "leayen—earth here with heaven." The world will be all the poorer if it discards them.

When the clouds opposite the sun are very dark, each drop of rain from them breaks up each ray of the sun into blue, yellow and red, but only one of these colours enters into the eye of the beholder : for, in each ray two of the colours are bent at such angles as to fall above or below the eye. No two persons see the same rainbow, though they think they do. Similarly when the clouds of Avidya, created by our Past (for never is even a single thought, word or act lost), are opposed, in our mental sky, to the Luminous Sat Chit Anand (Whose reflection within the deepest unborn part of us is our Life), the thoughts pouring on the innumerable lenses of the Karmik mind act as prisms to the rays of the Radiant One, and the prisms turn the unity into trinity, and what is indivisible into divisible ; and then those illusory rainbows appear which turn naught into aught and aught into naught. But if there are no dark opposing clouds, and the Karmik mind has in the Past gone through a discipline befitting it for the Vision Supreme, then,

“God.....glows above
 With scarce an intervention, presses close
 And palpitatingly, his soul o’er ours.”

* * * *

“Aerial navigation is teaching us much about the mysterious and invisible sea of air, at the bottom of which we crawl. Now men are rising into the higher levels with grand daring; and on their fragile ships of the air they are encountering those currents, maelstroms, whirlpools, cataracts, up-draughts, eddies and manifold turbulences which make the exploration of this new world so dangerous and

fascinating. Every mountain, hill, tree, building, sheet of water—every change in the contour of the earth's surface, indeed—has its effect on the lower aerial currents. But, as he aspires higher, there are more regular belts moving in various directions at high speed, and giving the daring airman many opportunities of finding a more suitable course. High flight, will also be safe flight, for, as the machine plunges from a lofty altitude, a gliding action is set up, which makes the ultimate path to earth a gentle one. On the other hand, the aeroplane which plunges downwards sharply when near the earth, has not space in which to develop the gliding effect, and it crashes through thin air to earth with disastrous force. Most aeroplane accidents have occurred when the machines were at low altitudes. "The mental cloudy sky has also its up and down currents, maelstroms, vortices and other similar disturbances." The self-satisfaction of dehumanised science, and of "denaturalised scholarship," to use the pregnant words of George Meredith, together with false humility, may be considered up-currents; idolatries, vanities, bombast, pedantry, pretence and humbug—down-currents; demented plotting, treasons, stratagems and spoils—maelstroms; self-deception, hypocrisies, lies and lusts—vortices. And generally, offences against sound reason and fair justice, disproportionate thoughts, words and acts, and all that Comedy laughs at or Tragedy weeps at may be likened to the other turbulences. It is these clouds which come in the way of our focussing our souls on Him in Whose face is Light and in Whose shadow is healing. It is these clouds which leave us, at the close of our Day with "the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin." It is these which keep us far from our home.

Every cloudless soul has its homing instinct. Its trust and its yearning are beautiful. It prefers as a Persian Sufi has said, to be a beggar in God's court, rather than be an Emperor here. It calls out:

"My god, My god, let me once look on thee !
 I need thee and I feel thee and I love thee .
 I do not plead my rapture in thy work
 For love of thee, nor that I feel as one
 Who cannot die: but there is that in me
 Which turns to thee, which loves or which should love."

And in the still small hours of its night, when others are asleep but it is awake, it hears the Bridegroom's voice:

هزار آواز آهر آنچه هستی باز آ
 گو کافر و کبر و بت پرستی باز آ
 این درگاه ما درگاه نومیدی نیست
 صد بار اگر توبه شکستی باز آ

"Come back, come back, whatever you are, come back:
 If you are an infidel, a fire-worshipper, an idolator,
 come back.

This court is not a court of despair,
 Even if a hundred times, you have broken your vow of
 repentance, come back."

* * * *

Says an American: "I like God. I'm glad I got to know Him. He's a poor reputation for sociability, t'is true, especially among the young, but I'm in a position t' say that once you get really well acquainted with Him, there's no end t' the sociability He's able for. He's good company. He's grand company. I enjoy His conversation. I'm glad I know

Him. I'm glad I got him for a friend....I'm almighty foud o'God... 'Them little stars', says he, is a pretty tough proposition for a man like you. You'd find me there, all right, if that's what you was lookin' for, but you might be frightened when you saw me. I'll tell you what you do; says He, you go out in the woods. I'll be waitin' there, an' you an' me will 'ave a nice quiet time t'gether, lookin' at the flowers I made. I'm proud o' them', says He. 'They're lovely; an' I'm glad I have the power an' the heart t' think them into life. You'll enjoy yourself all alone in the woods with me, says He.' Any how', says He, 'I'll enjoy myself with you'..... Why... my soul is turned toward Light. I've found peace, an' jus' as long as I can fall asleep like a child t' the sunlight o' mornin'—an, by day walk the world with neither terror nor shame—I think I'll stand pat with the cards I hold, whatever any men may think the hand I got is worth in the game. This flower in my hand—is the handiwork of my Friend. This mornin He made me the gift o' it. I love it. You've simply no idea....how common an' ornery a bottle of whiskey looks when you've once fell in love with a flower." This naive tribute from a democratic Yankee of the woods is not like the tribute of a Browning or a Jalal-ud-din Rumi, but it testifies to the still small voice being heard in the hush of Nature and in the hush of the soul.

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Concentrate your attention and energy, my soul, if you are for progress. Concentrate your attention even upon a rose, thank God for its fragrance, remember Him when touching its exquisite petals and remember

Him when you hear the bulbul sweetly serenading:

“Light breaks on the mountain,
Night shadows are gone,
I'm waiting thy coming
O Rose of the Dawn,
My first love—my last love.”

Thy Rose of the Dawn is God Himself.

* * *

He is the only Good. Sin, Sickness, Pain, Old Age, Death, Disharmonies, all kinds of Evil, take to flight when his presence is realised. He is the only Teacher of the Science of Being, the only Teacher of Absolute Truth. He is the only Giver of Life and Love. He is the only Absolute Reality. We are free to misunderstand Him just as we are free to misunderstand Science, Art or Literature. But just as our misunderstandings of these do not taint them with imperfection, so our misunderstandings of Him do not taint Him with imperfection. It is no fault of Mathematics if I prove a blockhead when studying it. It is no fault of the Science of Being if I fall into error after error in connection with it.

* * *

The mortal and temporal part of man is that which is free to err about the mortal, the Eternal. It is free to co-operate and free to procrastinate, free to help, free to hinder. It is the creator of shadows, of nothings, of emptiness. Sin and Sickness and Pain, old Age and Death, Disharmonies and all kinds of Evil are emanations from it. Let in the light, and they all vanish. Says Phillips Brooks

“There's many a trouble
Would break like a bubble,
And into the waters of Lethe depart,

Did we not rehearse it,
 And tenderly nurse it,
 And give it a permanent place in the heart.
 There's many a sorrow
 Would vanish tomorrow
 Were we but willing to furnish the wings;
 But, sadly intruding
 And quietly brooding,
 It hatches all sorts of horrible things."

* * *

Let in the light, and you become radiantly pure, transparently pure. You become a virgin soul, and God seems, as it were to stoop to kiss you. "Fresh from that divine kiss" you step forth "into the world to bear living evidence of the reality of the Godhead in our mundane sphere." Your purity "shrivels all iniquity with a glance. It makes everything else look so mean, so paltry, so commonplace. It is like a refining fire, burning up all the filth and impurity," it may come across. A voluptuary, face to face with such a soul, feels embarrassed by its superb and inviolate purity. But to the Bhakt comes a sound, "Leave all and follow me." The sight of such a soul is the sight of a celestial vision, and evil thoughts fly like ugly mists.

* * *

Let in the light, and your soul flowers as it never flowered before. It mates with the Holy one, and brings forth fruit, and raises up undying seed. The supreme transforming power behind all static and dynamic periods of Nature helps its beautiful growth. He helps in weeding out his own fair Garden. His will is large and spacious, and He vouchsafes to hide the will of such a Soul in His.

"The sea, all water, yet receives rain still,
 And in abundance addeth to his store,
 So Thou, being rich in Will, add to Thy Will
 One Will of mine, to make Thy large Will more.
 For nothing hold me, so it please Thee hold
 That nothing me, a something sweet to Thee".

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Let in the light, and you realize the absurdity of Nietzsche's axiom, "Man is a transit and an exit." The Immortal dwells with you, and your will, which is yours to make it His, is already His. Nevertheless, you stand in freedom, and are your own fee-simple, completely immune against the attacks of earthly powers. To you, God is not "a mistake of man." He is Truth and the fairest and most precious jewel, of your heart. He "new-lodges" Himself in you, and "is newly deified." He shields your honour, he builds you many bulwarks. All your affections are in his charmed power, for you reserve only the stalk, and give Him all your flower.

"Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross,
 Within be fed, without be rich no more:
 So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
 And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

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Let in the light, and you will be dipt in angel instincts, and think not in continents but in worlds. You will cease to believe in rival spiritual powers, and the sufferings and inequalities of life and the contrasts of Law and Love will, as Origen said, show you merely that "what you see is a fragment of a vast system." You will mark tendencies and convergences and numerous indicia making it more than probable that the worlds are a "family" of a

loving Father, Whose love encompasses them, overshadows them, and interpenetrates them, and, what is more, stamps them with the great truth. "Self-sacrifice is Life, Selfishness is Death." You may even catch a glimpse of how the *Ek* becomes *anek*, how the One Spiritual Sun becomes multitudinous, and hear faint whispers of the deep melody of the children of those glorious shapes, the sleepless circling Years and Months, Weeks and Days, Minutes and Seconds raining down musically "atoms of intensest light" and of mystic love without which "our earth is a tomb."

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Let in the light, and make your heart the Presence-chamber of the Life of Life, of the Spirit of Beauty, of the All Who is contained in Each. Then you may behold and even participate in the Arati, which, in an undying hymn, has been celebrated by one of the greatest seers of India :

"The sun and moon, *O Lord*, are Thy lamps ; the firmament Thy salver, the orbs of the stars the pearls *enchased* in it.

The perfume of the sandal is Thine incense, the wind is Thy fan, all the forests are Thy flowers, *O Lord* of light.

What worship is this, *O Thou* Destroyer of birth? Unbeaten strains of ecstasy are the trumpets of Thy worship

Thou hast a thousand eyes, and yet not one eye. Thou hast a thousand forms and yet not one form ; Thou hast a thousand stainless feet, and yet not one foot ;

Thou hast a thousand organs of smell and yet not one organ. I am fascinated by this play of Thine.

The light which is in everything is Thine, O Lord of light.

From its brilliancy everything is brilliant. By the Gurn's teaching the light becometh manifest.

What pleaseth Thee is the real worship.

O God, my mind is fascinated with Thy lotus feet as the bumble-bee with the flower : night and day I thirst for them.

Give the water of Thy favour to the sarang Nanak, so that he may dwell in Thy name."

Let in the light, my soul, and when your eyes look their last, when Death sucks the honey of your breath, when it lies on thy garment of earth as a frost, when its pale flag advances to subjugate your sheaths, your inner beauty will not be conquered, for your everlasting rest will be in God's own bosom, and this world-wearied flesh will no longer be under the yoke of inauspicious stars. It is the spirits pure and clear that have the "sabbath deep and wide."...the Sabbath of Eternity with the Heavenly Bridegroom. Such spirits, even when wearing their mortal vesture, love Him more than ever wife loved, and that love fills them with a magic music, and gives them the fragrance of "pure lilies of eternal peace," and makes them breathers of the 'airs of heaven.' They yearn for union and they sing to God.

* (Macauliffe's translation : the words in italics are his. The beauty, sublimity and the music of the original are untranslatable.)

“The fountains mingle with the river;
And the rivers with the ocean,
The winds of heaven mix for ever
 With a sweet emotion ;
And the sunlight clasps the earth,
And the moonbeams kiss the sea,
Nothing in the world is single,
 All things by a law divine,
In one another's being mingle—
Why not I with Thee ? ”

A RECLUSE

REDISTRIBUTION OF TERRITORIES.

THE Announcement having been made under the authority of His Majesty's Government that "self-governing institutions are to be gradually developed with a view to the progressive realization" of Responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire," I venture to formulate once more the first requisite among the "substantial steps" in that direction, namely a *redistribution of territories* comprised in His Majesty's Indian Empire based upon linguistic and racial homogeneity and economic and administrative compactness.

2. When Partition of Bengal was modified by the Emperor George V. at Delhi on the 12th December 1911, His Majesty's concluding words were "*with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries* as our Governor General in Council with the approval of our Secretary of State in Council may in due course determine. It is our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the *better administration of India* and the greater prosperity and happiness of our beloved people."

3. The famous Despatch of the Government of India dated 25th August 1911 to the Secretary of State for India says in para. 26:—

"We should thus be able after the Durbar to discuss in detail with the local and other authorities the best method

of carrying out a modification of Bengal on such *broad and comprehensive lines* as to form a settlement that shall be *final and satisfactory to all*.

4. These utterances from the highest quarters fully warranted the expectation that *a general redistribution of administrative areas* would be undertaken after wider consultation and full deliberation. It has not, however, for reasons unknown been done yet. The recent announcement of policy, however, makes it imperative that what should have been done five years ago should now be carried out without further delay.

5. For Mr. Montagu who was then Under Secretary of State for India understood the "Redistribution" in the same sense as I did, and so did the Hon'ble John Fortescue in his book on the Durbar.

6. And now in his Speech in the House of Commons on the 12th July last Mr. Montagu (since Secretary of State for India) said of the future of Indian Government that he foresaw the great self-governing dominions and provinces of India organized and co-ordinated with the existing great principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and principalities federated by one central Government." And he gives a great many reasons why a substantial instalment of self-government should be given without delay. The sentiments, ideas and opinions expressed by him on July 12th he recently emphasized to his constituents at Cambridge after he had assumed the office of the Secretary of State for India.

7. The creation of self-governing provinces foreshadows such provinces to be linguistically, racially and geographically as homogeneous and compact. The scheme of redistribution I sketch below is based on these considerations and on sound economic reasons, thus rendering easier the administration of the Indian Empire and preventing the talk of *unwieldy single changes*. Is the British Empire too unwieldy to be under a single Emperor? or a single cabinet in London? Is a single Secretary of State for India unable to deal with the Indian Empire which extends from Persia to Siam and from Turkestan to the Indian Ocean? Only a change of method is needed, *viz:—decentralization of power and autonomy of the provinces constructed linguistically, racially and geographically as homogeneous and compact as it is possible to make them.*

In the scheme which I give below I have endeavoured to make the Provinces as self-contained and homogeneous as possible.

A. Eight Governors with Councils for each of the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Burma, Bengal, Patna *cum* Benares, Allahabad *cum* Lucknow, and the Punjab and Delhi (reconstructed as Viceregal Domains).

B. Three Chief Commissioners (better 'named 'Wardens') of the North-East and North-West Frontiers and Andamans.

C. The formation of only a few political charges now that the Princes have to be trusted fully and are themselves keenly desirous of taking part in His Majesty's Indian Empire as integral members: say the Southern Political charge including Mysore, Vizianagram,

Hyderabad, Kathiawar etc., the Central Political charge including Indore, Gwalior, Rewah, Bundelkhand etc., the Rajputana Political charge, the Northern or Kashmir Political charge, and the Eastern Political charge including Tehri (Garhwal), Rampur, Benares, Nepal, Cooch Behar, Orissa Tributary Mahals, Manipur and Tipperah.

8 (1) Bombay has very much less area and less population in its existing state than any Governorship or Lieutenant Governorship. It should give up Scinde to the Punjab and take the Mahratti speaking districts of Chanda, Wardha, Nagpore, Bhandara, Betul and Nimar (to which the Mahratta speaking part of Hoshangabad may well be added and the Berars.

(2) To Madras as at present must go the little Chief Commissionership of Coorg, and it must give up the Oriya speaking portion of Ganjam.

(3) From Burma must be cut out the Kachin country and the Shan States which must go to form the North-Eastern Frontier Province as sketched below. Why should the Governor of such advanced places as Rangoon and Mandalay have the wild Kachin and Shan and the Chinese Burman Frontier questions on his brain ?

(4) To Bengal as at present must go all civilized portions of Assam such as Sylhet, Cachar, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Darrang, Kamrup and Goalpara, some with almost entire Bengali populations, that is to say all but the hilly and northernmost portion of Lakhimpur District within which is situated the beautiful place of Sadiya which would make the most convenient site for a Capital town of the North-

East Frontier Province. Bengal must have restored to it the whole of Orissa with the Oriya speaking portion of Ganjam and the whole of Chhota Nagpur and Bhagalpore Divisions. The Chhota Nagpore plateau is the natural hilly and sparsely populated country suited for the expansion of the overflowing Bengali population and the Bhagalpore Division comprises districts predominantly Bengali which are ill assorted with the Beharis. Bengal may thus become again large but a Governor with say six councillors should be enough for the big charge. It won't be much larger than the existing United Provinces or the Punjab or Madras or Burma.

(5) The Province of Patna *cum* Benares (now mongrel Behar and Orissa) should have the Benares Division taken off from the United Provinces and added to it and some of the Hindi speaking districts of the mongrel Central Provinces like Maudla, Bilaspore and Raipur and Angul and Sambhalpur.

(6) The present United Provinces (which had better be called Allahabad *cum* Lucknow) must be shown on the East of the Benares Division and on the West of the present Meerut Division and have added on to it the remaining Hindi speaking Districts of the unfortunate Central Provinces.

(7) The Punjab should give up the Districts of Gurgaon, Dehli (as it was), Rohtak, Karnal and Ambala and Simla to the Viceregal Domains and with the addition of Scinde must go to it the settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dehra Ismail Khan; with these districts the Warden of the North-West marches should have nothing

to do: except perhaps military observation Posts overlooking the Tribal Country. The Punjab will thus be a compact civilized (not non-regulation) Government without any frontier politics on its brain, not even of those wild tracts as Chitral and Chilas, Hunza and Nagyr and Ladakh which may be looked after by the Northern Political Agent in or near Kashmir.

(8) And now about the Viceregal Domains to which I want to raise the existing Toy Province of Delhi. With the five populous districts of the Meerut Division East of the Jumna and the five West thereof Delhi will be a real substantial charge for a Governor and Council: and must provide the financial requisities of the Viceroy's Court, his secretariats and Council. The Viceroy should not look to the autonomous Provinces for a single rupee to pay for his federal establishment and must, further, see that the administration of Delhi as the centre of a large, intelligent and opulent population is conducted on the most approved lines so as to be a pattern for the other British Governors and the Princes.

9. The North-Eastern Frontier has already been indicated. It will consist of the Naga Hills and tribes, Sanghpos, Khamtis, Mishmis, the Shans and Kachins. The Warden and his assistants, all peripatetic officers, will always have one eye towards Tibet and the other towards China with their backs towards the tribes within our borders. The five districts of Hazara, etc., having been taken on to the Punjab, the headquarters of the Warden of the North-Western marches should be located at Quetta and his arm extended by judicious location of observation

Posts between Afghanistan and India right on to Chitral and Gilgit. He and the Northern political officer stationed say at Chilas if not in Gilgit should have direct cognizance of new Frontier questions.

The Warden of the Andaman Islands should not only have those islands on his brain but also the watch and ward of the entire Bay of Bengal from the Burman coast to the Madras and right up to Java and Sumatra and Ceylon. There should be a great Naval Station there.

10. I strongly urge the curtailment of the enormous establishment of Politicals under the Government of India—and it should now be done by dividing the whole of India under four or five senior political officers directly inspecting and touring the various Native States within their jurisdiction and reporting direct to the Political secretariat of the Government of India. Real freedom of the Press and of rapidity of travel and communication by post and telegraph, rail and aeroplane, will lessen still more the necessity of establishing Agencies and Residencies in the numerous States and these will be a total superfluity when the Princes themselves are anxious to be quite as good as British citizens of the Empire. The five political charges will lie with senior men trained in the Governor General's political secretariat who will be peripatetic and will serve as the eyes and ears of the Governor General which the present Agents and Residents are supposed to be.

11. That mongrel province, the existing Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, has had a melancholy history of famines and other troubles and its absorption

by the neighbouring provinces will be sound both on economic and administrative grounds.

12. Mr. Montagu has called the India-Office-methods "the very apotheosis of circumlocution." The Government of India too is in need of reformation, and by careful co-ordination a great saving could be effected. *With the income arising from the Viceregal domains alone* to pay for the federal work of the Governor-General and his Council, there is sure to be some limit to the extravagance of paper and ink and academic writing in which Simla delights at present.

13. Thus the above scheme combines administrative economy with the promotion of local autonomy :—for such a redistribution connotes linguistic and racial homogeneity and local compactness. It creates the future United States of India and lays a firm foundation for responsible Government in this country.

Meerut,
30th August 1917.

K. D. BOSE.

THE AWAKENING.

(From Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore.)

My twilight-dreams of love are dead
 . At burst of dawn.
 I had my wreath ; its string is left,
 The flow'rs are gone.
 No more the silent tryst of eyes;
 No more the stolen meet of sighs;
 No more the light of love's sunrise,
 That once here shone.
 About me circling chain of arms :
 My freedom's pawn,
 The gem of smiles is seen no more,
 Upon her lips.
 Of her own will her form conceal'd
 No more she keeps;
 Her voice no more now thrills my frame :
 No more she makes my heart aflame;
 Her songs no more with pearly gem
 Now deck my eyes.
 To hide her tears, now void of shame,
 No more she tries.

The vernal month is not so sweet,
 As 'twas of old ;
The moon-lit night has lost its youth,
 'Tis deadly cold.
No one now plays on flutes, it seems;
No vernal flow'r in groves now gleam;
No sweetest soul now loads the hem
 With blooming flow'rs.
No one now sits and weaves the wreaths
 For countless hours.
The flute did sound; I gave myself ;—
 At once the songs did die.
What painful band now binds my feet !
 What hopeless tie!
The golden night too soon did part ;
Its mem'ry only mocks my heart.
The bliss is gone ; but fraud of bliss
 In heart doth glow.
Ah! Love is gone but sham of love
 And empty show.

FLORA AMY MORGAN.

LETTERS FROM AN ENGLISHWOMAN.

III

My dear Sisters,

I was going to write and give you a picture of an English cottage garden with its simple entrance on to a path of gravel or rough paving stones leading from the garden gate to the cottage porch; and on either side of the path a row of pinks with clumps of madonna lilies behind them. At the back of these, rose bushes, lavender and sweet William, mignonette, primrose, stock and wall-flower jostle each other in the narrow borders, so that as you walk down the narrow path, the fresh sweet smell of flowers fills your nostrils and you fail to notice the large bit of garden behind where the vegetables grow. (Not the least interesting object in the little garden is the woman who loves and tends it.)

These are, however, thoughts of the past, this sweet peaceful picture has changed. Now in these strenuous war days when food is scarce, the fragrant flower borders no longer exist either in the big gardens of the rich or the small gardens of the poor. Rows of carrots or onions flank the path and if the housewife still has a thought for colour, she

plants a row of beetroot near the border so that their red leaves may lend an ornamental touch to the entrance path.

A pang goes through the heart of the flower lover as she digs up her dear lilies to make room for more cabbages and sternly uproots her roses to replace them with fruit bushes— but she is patriotic, she has been told that every pound of food she can grow will help her country in its hard fight for liberty and justice. So the larger bit of garden at the back is now planted with potatoes, and the flower borders reserved for the growing of other vegetables. As she presses down the roots of the new fruit bushes, she presses down any feeling of regret for her lost roses, and as she transplants a row of leeks in the place of her formerly treasured lilies, she pictures making a savory dish for her man when he comes back on his rare few days of leave from the Front.

It is difficult now to find time to keep the little garden clean and free of weeds, for every woman is doing work every hour of the live-long day and often all the night. If she is not tending a small family, she goes out to work in the fields to help the farmers, or if she lives in or near a town she joins the many toilers in the factories making munitions. All classes from the highest to the lowest are thus occupied, if they are not nursing the wounded in the hospitals. Herself and her womanly fancies, even her daintiness in dress and appearance are all forgotten, there is work to be done and she must do her bit,—there is no time for fallals. On her return home, no matter if her back aches or her hands are sore, heedless of fatigue she will tend her little garden, if only to pick off dead leaves or hoe between the lines of onions, carrots and turnips.

Mark you, I am speaking of the garden lover not of the woman who looks at a flower and only sees its colour!

Pathetically a forgotten crocus or daffodil rears its yellow head amongst the vegetables reminding the flower lover of brighter, happier days. Apologetically she says: 'I could not dig up *all* the bulbs, they hide themselves so cunningly in the brown earth and now here they are springing up and lending a little colour or cheerfulness to the border; I cannot treat them as weeds even if they do push up rather close to some of the new growing vegetables and take up a wee bit of space. They are like a smile on the grave face of a warrior. Smiles are good and ease the dull routine of work.'

Perhaps the war will among many other good reforms, teach the people to return to country life and its health giving labours and make them understand how much better it is for children to be reared in the country, rather than in the crowded streets of a city.

It was largely selfishness and lack of backbone that made the people crowd to the towns, a foolish love of excitement and a weak dependence on amusements. Social show too had become a fetish in every class. The idle mind had to be tickled by some outward stimulant or by constant change and movement. The world was growing more and more material and money more and more its god. The majority were completely indifferent to everything not pertaining to worldly advantage. It needed the cataclysm of a devastating war to sweep away the craving for idle pleasures and make-believe happiness,

as well as to put a ban on useless enervating luxuries and to bring into evidence the solider virtues of work and service.

Pleasure and excitement are by no means synonymous with genuine happiness. The feverish search and strain after personal enjoyments, the absorbing pursuit of the will o' the wisp of pleasure was in many cases the only object and aim of an idle life, and how empty that life was of real and lasting happiness! When excitements failed or a break in health, strength or fortune prevented participation in these entertaining frivolities the victim of self-pleasing was miserably bored and had nothing in herself to fall back on. The surfeit of pleasure was at times nauseating to minds not quite dead to the meaning of life and left an unhappy consciousness of the uselessness of it all.

How the war has changed all this. Among all classes *especially the highest* a very passion to serve has arisen. Work in its hardest and meanest forms has been freely and cheerfully undertaken. So long as we may serve our Country or minister to the needs of our wounded no work is mean, nor labour degrading. In one hospital one may meet a princess washing up the dishes, in another an officer's wife doing the same work. Many of the cooks and housemaids are daughters of our aristocracy.

I have seen delicate ladies on their knees cheerfully and vigorously scrubbing floors or running to obey the orders of those in authority at the hospitals. Their hands once so fine and white and daintily gloved now blue and rough with the cold and coarse work and often during the severe

winter weather, covered with painful chilblains. How one admires the courage of these willing unpaid servers! To help one another is now at last recognised as the highest nobility. This is but one of the spiritual transformations caused by wide-spread suffering which stimulates noble hearts to high endeavour.

These thoughts have led me far from the cottage garden and yet it was in the quiet of such a garden—far from the insistent call and clamour of the noisy world that the graver thoughts arose. It is good for us of the busy West to steal away at times to a quiet spot where one can win refreshment for the spirit and calm the harassed overworked nerves.

Sometimes a spot in the Country seems to me like Holy Ground—the silent temple to which one turns from the feverish unrest of the work-a-day world to gather wisdom, strength and health, wherewith to return with added usefulness and capacity to the busy, active life of crowded places.

So just for a moment more let us linger among the flowers and green things and the pure and simple atmosphere of our cottage garden communing with nature and preparing to sacrifice our little personal lives and wishes on the altar of noble self-forgetfulness and service to mankind. No matter whether it be in city, town or village, or in the open country. If we are great we ask not, where? It is sufficient that we serve somehow, somewhere. The fields of service are broad and each one's work awaits him.

England 1917.

A STORY OF A LEGAL SCANDAL.

GANESH Singh was a petty zamindar in village Alwamau.

The marriage of Ganesh Singh's daughter had been celebrated with great pomp 11 years ago. For its expenses he had borrowed Rs. 5,000\ from one Ram Dayal Shah, the village Mahajan, and had mortgaged his landed property as a security for the loan.

Eleven years had passed by. Thakur Ganesh Singh had agreed to pay interest at a very heavy rate and Ram Dayal Shah was, therefore, in no hurry to press for payment.

Now, it so happened that the relations between Ram Dayal and Thakur Ganesh Singh became strained. The cause was this. Ram Dyal had accepted a possessory mortgage over the land of a distant relation of Ganesh Singh but was unable to obtain possession. In villages the approved method of giving trouble to one's enemy is to fudge up some sort of criminal complaint against him, and then the longer purse works for the ruin of the victim. There are no village panchayats to settle the matter on the spot, the villagers are allowed to be ruined by legal procedure which requires learned lawyers to interpret its working. The truth is known in the villages but only the manufactured article is acceptable in the Courts. The

village people have been ruined at the altar of complicated laws. Ram Dayal lodged a complaint against the relation of Ganesh Singh. The debtors are under obligation to give evidence for the creditors. Ram Dayal fully expected that Ganesh Singh would give evidence for him. He sent him word to this effect. But Ganesh Singh refused to comply with the request. On the other hand, he gave evidence for the adversary of Ram Dyal. This exasperated Ram Dyal, who told Ganesh Singh that he would have his revenge soon. And he lost no time over it. On the basis of the mortgage deed executed by Ganesh Singh a suit for the recovery of Rs. 25,000/ was instituted forthwith.

Ganesh Singh was served with the summons in due course and sat in his chaupal with a troubled look over his face, turning over the summons which he received. He read the summons again and again. It was a fearful document. It was issued by the Subordinate Judge of Gopamau, a servant of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. These servants of His Gracious Majesty have not a gracious way of putting things in these documents. The summons commanded Ganesh Singh to attend the Court on the date fixed and to defend the suit. If he did not do so, His Gracious Majesty's servant remarked that several very unpleasant things might occur and the Mun-sarim of the Court corroborated the threat. Suraj Bali, a sort of village lawyer, guessed his trouble and saw his own opportunity.

He loved litigation and made his living by it. If a witness was required to prove an alibi or a payment his services could always be depended upon for a small consideration. If a man wanted to engage a pleader Suraj Bali

was ready to assist. He charged one-fourth share in the fee as his commission. If a villager had any work in Court, Suraj Bali was sure to go with him to arrange matters with the Court officials. As the villagers put it he knew the 'law' and was always useful. Suraj Bali at once opened the campaign.

Suraj Bali:—Ram, Ram Thakur, What is this paper you are holding in your hands. It looks like a summons. Has any one summoned you as a witness ?

Ganesh Singh (sadly).—No, my friend, no one has summoned me as a witness. Ram Dayal Shah has instituted a suit against me for the recovery of the sum which I had borrowed from him on the occasion of my daughter's marriage.

Suraj Bali.—O yes, I remember as I and the village patwari attested the deed. What do you intend to do now. The deed is registered and the money was paid to you before the sub-registrar. The claim is sure to be decreed.

Ganesh Singh.—Ram Dayal is now my bitterest enemy. I will fight with him to the bitter end—though my whole property be sold. I will sell even my wife's ornaments. I am a Rajput. I am not going to be beaten in a fight by a Bania.

Suraj Bali.—But, Thakur, what can you do ? Your hands are "tied."

Ganesh Singh.—What you say is true. But I mean to fight I will engage Pandit Ram Datt, the cleverest pleader in the district. He is sure to devise some method of defeating the claim of Ram Dayal Shah. Lala Suraj Bali, these clever pleaders can do wonders.

Suraj Bali.—Thakur, if you are bent upon fighting, then, let us consult the village patwari. He is a clever man and his advice is sure to be good. But you must pay him something. A patwari will never help you till you have paid him his "Haq."

The patwari was sent for.

The patwari.—Salam Thakur sahib. What is the trouble?

Ganesh Singh:—Lala Ji. My enemy Ram Dayal has instituted a suit against me. I am determined to fight with him. I want your valuable advice in the matter. Do help me (pays him Rs. 5) and I will never forget your kindness.

The patwari (after putting the money in his pocket). Ganesh Singh, you and I are old friends. I will do anything for you. To-morrow we will go to the town and consult Pandit Ram Datt. He is the cleverest pleader in the District and I am sure he will gain you a 'victory' over Ram Dayal.

Next day all three marched to the Headquarters of the District, and in the evening were introduced in the presence of Ram Datt.

The patwari:—Ram, Ram Wakil sahib.

Pandit Ram Datt:—Ram Ram Bhai, Ram Ram. Sit down. I hope I see you well. Who is your companion?

The patwari.—Pandit Ji, we are in great trouble and that is why we have come to you. My companion's name is Ganesh Singh. He is the zimindar of my village.

Pandit Ram Datt:—(who knew that this kind of trouble always meant money for him and the patwari). I am always ready to serve you.

The patwari related the facts of the case to the Vakil sahib. The Vakil sahib made a great show of going through several books lying at his table and then addressed himself to Ganesh Singh.

Pandit Ram Datt:—Thakur sahib. Your case is a difficult one.

Ganesh Singh was going to say something but the patwari did not allow him to do so.

The patwari:—We know that the case is a difficult one. That is why we have come to you for advice and help. Ganesh Singh is ready to pay the fee which you may demand provided you can win the case.

Pandit Ram Datt:—A very nice point has just struck me. I think that your friend can win the case but my fee will be Rs. 1,000/.

The patwari (with folded hands). Pandit Ji, do have pity on us. We can not afford to pay so much.

After a good deal of bargaining the question of fee was settled. The clerk of the Vakil sahib took the patwari aside, who told him that Ganesh Singh will pay the fee demanded and that there should be no reduction. Of course, it was agreed that the patwari would get Rs.25/100 out of the fee paid. The patwari took Ganesh Singh aside and told him that he had learnt from the clerk that Ram Dayal had already been to the Vakil sahib and that unless he was engaged at once he might be retained by Ram Dayal. In the meantime the clerk had told the Vakil sahib what the patwari had said. Poor Ganesh Singh agreed to pay the fee and to do so, sold the ornaments of his wife.

Pandit Ram Datt (To patwari). Lalaji, I see that you attested the deed. And who is this Suraj Bali who attested it along with you.

The patwari:— Suraj Bali is a great friend of Ganesh Singh.

Pandit Ram Datt:— Will he give evidence for him?

The patwari :— O, yes, both he and myself will say what you want us to say.

Pandit Ram Datt :— Ganesh Singh can only win his case if both you and Suraj Bali are prepared to say that Ganesh Singh did not sign the deed in your presence.

The patwari :— Certainly, we will both say this in Court. Of course, this is not Court room and so there is no harm in saying that Ganesh Singh did sign the deed in our presence. But in Court we will both say that Ganesh Singh did not sign the mortgage deed in our presence.

The Patwari enlarged on the abilities of Ram Datt, when they retired to seek lodgings under a tree. This is the advantage of engaging a senior vakil he said. He will tell you what evidence you should produce. He will cross-examine your witnesses at his house so that they may not break down in cross-examination in Court. But it is quite different with some of these young pleaders. The other day I went to one with a man of my village who had engaged him. We took our witnesses with us and asked him to let us know what they should say in Court. The man abused us and turned us out of his house saying that he was not going to "tutor" the witnesses. The result was that the witnesses did not know what to say in Court and the case was lost.

In due course the case came on for hearing and the parties with their pleaders and witnesses appeared.

The Court (after reading the plaint) :— Well, Pandit Ram Datt what is your defence?

Pandit Ram Datt (producing his written statement). Sir, our defence is that the mortgage deed set up by the plaintiff, was not duly attested and is, therefore, invalid.

The Court :— Good gracious ! Since the famous Privy Council ruling on this point this defence is set up in any number of cases.

Pandit Ram Datt :—And, Sir, in most of these cases it is a true defence. Because, before the ruling of the Privy Council, the creditors did not know that it was necessary to get the executant to sign the deed in the presence of the attesting witnesses. Of course, I would admit that in some cases this defence is falsely set up.

The Court :—Did your client receive the consideration?

Pandit Ram Datt :— My instructions are that the transaction was a fictitious one as mentioned in the written statement and that the money paid before the sub-registrar was returned to the mortgagee. But I must frankly confess that it is difficult for us to prove our case in this respect.

After settling the issues the Court asked Ram Dayal to produce his witnesses. Ram Dayal, thinking his case to be quite strong, had engaged a junior vakil, he did not want to pay a large fee. His pleader was quite new to the profession. He did not tell Ram Dayal to see that his witnesses spoke the truth. Both the patwari and Suraj Bali were examined.

They both stated that Ganesh Singh had not attested the deed in their presence. The patwari said that both he and Suraj Bali had been sitting outside the registration office, that Ganesh Singh brought the deed to them, they asked him if he had executed it and on receiving an affirmative reply they attested it. The same story was repeated by Suraj Bali. To show that they were truthful witnesses they both said the money was paid to Ganesh Singh in their presence.

The Court (to the pleader for Ram Dayal) :—I am afraid that your deed is not proved according to law.

Ram Dayal:—Sir, the witnesses have been won over by the defendant.

The Court:—Most probably, what you say is true. But I am powerless in the matter. The Privy Council has laid down that according to the law as it stands now, it must be proved that the executant attested the deed in the presence of the attesting witnesses. And this is not proved in your case.

The Court wrote its judgment holding that the execution of the deed was not proved according to law.

The Court (to Ram Dayal) :—I am very sorry but I have to dismiss your suit as the deed is not proved according to law.

Ram Dayal:—Sir, I swear that the entire sum of Rs. 5,000 was paid to Ganesh Singh in the presence of the Sub-Registrar and that my claim is a true one.

The Court:—What you say is perfectly true. But what has right to do with the legal aspect of the case. You see all these books. All my reading and studying of them has

taught me that law is one thing and right is another thing. Ask any lawyer. You go to temple to learn what is right. But you go to those books to learn "law."

Ram Dayal:—Sir, then, law does not mean justice.

The Court:—You are right. Very often "law" does not mean justice.

Ram Dayal; Sir, are not laws made for administering justice?

The Court:—My dear man, it appears to me that some of the laws are made specially for the benefit of the lawyers only.

Poor Ram Dayal left the Court wondering, like many a man, why law did not mean justice.

A few days later, Pandit Ram Datt appeared before the same Court for Ram Dayal in a suit instituted on the fact of a mortgage deed.

The witnesses to the deed had been won over by the defendant. They stated that the mortgage deed was not signed by the executant in their presence. The suit was dismissed.

Pandit Ram Datt argued this case of his client with great ability. He brought his fist down with a denunciatory bang upon the table in front of him and was most vehement in his denunciation of the witnesses of his client who had been won over by the opposite party and had given false evidence. The Court wondered which of the three was more to blame—Pandit Ram Datt, the poor villagers who had given false evidence, or the 'law'.

JUSTICUS.

THE SIKH MORNING PRAYER

For silence, I no strength possess,
 No strength to speak, to ask, to give,
 To live, to die, to gain a crown,
 To gather wealth and victories.
 No strength have I to think on THEE,
 Or ponder over things Divine,
 Nor have I strength to find the way
 Of gaining freedom for my soul.
 O' Nānak, HE Whose arm is strength,
 HE sees all things and wields all pow'r:
 None in HIS sight is high or low
 (For HE regards all men alike).
 HE has created seasons, nights,
 The week days and the lunar days,
 The wind, the water and the fire,
 And also all the under-worlds.
 HE in the midst of these has set
 —As but a passing, resting place—
 This earth with all its living forms
 Of endless beauty, endless kinds.

According to their deeds all these
 Are judged by HIM Who is the Truth:
 And in HIS courts of justice those
 Accepted are who're virtuous.

HIS grace and men's own deeds in life
 The basis of salvation are;
 Who wanting are in purity
 Make good the balance by HIS grace.

O Nānak, verily this truth
 Is realised by only those
 Who see the Lord (the Just, the True)
 In full effulgence face to face.

That which has been described before
 Explains the law in Virtue's realm,
 What follows to the realm belongs
 Wherein Knowledge Divine abides.

In this domain are countless winds,
 And countless waters, countless fires,
 Krishnas and Shivas numberless,
 And Brahmas who the worlds create.

Countless "the lands of grace" are there,
 Countless the mountains, Narads, Dhruvs,
 And suns and moons and lands and orbs,
 And Indras and the Siddhs and Nāths.

Countless the gods and goddesses,
 Countless the demons and the saints,
 Countless the jewels and the seas,
 Countless "the springs of life" and kings.

Countless the speeches and the men,
Who do possess Knowledge Divine,
Countless HIS worshippers also,
O Nānak, there is no end to them.

Here in this realm Knowledge Divine
Resplendent shines (as doth the sun):
Here too are heard sweet songs of praise,
And sounds of merriment and joy.

Again, the Realm of Happiness
By Beauty is characterised,
Here forms without compare are made,
And none its charms can e'r pourtray.

Here understanding fashioned is,
Discernment, wisdom, intellect,
Here too that knowledge comes to birth
With which are gifted sages, saints.

ABOUT BOOKS

GOD

THE INVISIBLE KING (by H. G. Wells)

Cassell and Company, Ltd., London.

"The glory of the light of letters is only for those," says Ghalib, "who have the heart on fire." H. G. Wells has written on many things and always with sincerity and truth. The light within him seems to transfigure all things on which he turns his eyes. His pilgrimage to God is a brave book. He has attempted to give a new definition of God in the light of his own experience disciplined by devotion and guided by earnest search. He has broken away from the historic creed. Mr. Wells has realised "the futility, the failure, the muddle, the peril of the life of the natural man" and found refuge in spiritual realities. The unknowable or the absolute is according to him a mere speculation. "The veil of the unknown is set with the stars, its outer texture is ether and atom and crystal. The Veiled Being, enigmatical and incomprehensible, broods over the mirror upon which the busy shapes of life are moving. It is as if it waited in a great stillness. Our lives do not deal with it, and cannot deal with it. It may be that they may never be able to deal with it." From this Mr. Wells concludes that the Veiled Being, the power behind Nature is a mere figure of speech and that God like man is a finite being. And God declares his presence in the heart of man.

"It may come upon the sinking ship or in the tumult of the battle. There is no saying when it may not come to us. But after it has come our lives are changed. God is with us and there is no more doubt of God. Thereafter one goes about the world like one who was lonely and has found a lover, like one who was perplexed and has found a solution. One is assured that there is a power that fights with us against the confusion and evil within us and without. There comes into the heart an essential and enduring happiness and courage."

There is something akin in this conception with the idea of a Parmeshwar (Supreme God) who is beyond human intellect and the Ishwara the loving and suffering God of humanity as defined in the Indian Yoga system. Once this God is found life is transmuted entirely. • "To realise God in one's heart is to be filled with the desire to serve Him and the way of His service is neither to pull up one's life by the roots nor to continue it in all its essentials unchanged, but to turn it about, to turn everything that there is in it round into His way. The servant of God has no business with wealth or power except to use them immediately in the service of God. Finding these things in his hands he is bound to administer them in the service of God."

"For all the rest of your life you are nothing but God's agent. If you are not prepared for so complete surrender then you are infinitely remote from God. You must go your way. Here you are merely a curious interloper. Perhaps you have been desiring God as an experience, or coveting him as a possession. You have not begun to understand. It is true that nobody can write a book about God, or even preach a sermon about Him, without doing violence to something that is essential in Divine Nature as Mr. Jacks points out, but Mr. Well's book as a personal confession of experience is a valuable document. •

The supreme questions with seekers after God has always been: How can God be found? The question has been asked from the beginning of time and answered in hundreds of ways but on one point all true seekers of God are agreed. "It is only by search and not by arguing about Him that we can find Him" says Guru Nanak. In the East it is said that it is through love alone a human soul is redeemed. Human love affords the first glimpse of divine love and guides across the boundaries of individuation to liberation from the prison of self. Mr. Wells is right in saying that "Being in love is a condition that may have its moments of sublime exaltation, but it is for the most part an experience far down the scale, below divine experience; it is often love only in so far as it shares the name with better things; it is greed; it is admiration; it is desire; it is the itch for excitement; it is the instinct for competition; it is lust; it is curiosity; it is adventure; it is jealousy; it is hate." Human love when it is unripe only leads to hundreds of meetings and parting but here and there true love takes birth in the heart revealing the spirit of God, solving all mysteries, making life transparent from within and from without.

Mr. Wells does not believe in a pure positivist creed, which made such a strong appeal to men like Lord Morley and Mr. Fredric Harrison. "The benevolent atheist," he remarks, "stands alone upon his good will, without a reference, without a standard, trusting to his own impulse to goodness, relying upon his own moral strength. A certain immodesty, a certain self-righteousness, hangs like a precipice above him, incalculable temptations open like gulfs beneath his feet. He has not really given himself or got away from himself. He is still a masterless man. His devotion is only the good will in himself, a disposition; it is a mood that may change. He may have pledged himself to his own pride and honour, but who will hold him to his bargain? He has no source of strength beyond his own amiable sentiments, his conscience speaks

with an unsupported voice, and no one watches while he sleeps. He cannot pray; he can but ejaculate. He has no real and living link with other men of good will." Who would stand on a precipice without support when God waits for all to help them across the perilous path?

Mr. Wells has preached no religion, indeed a new religion only takes birth when it is transfigured in the light of a great messenger of God. Mr. Wells is wrong in disowning the debt which humanity owes to historic religions. Mr. Wells speaks as a representative of his own age and his book will bring solace to many wandering in the valleys of disbelief and bring them to the feet of the Invisible King who rules the universe. The book is a valuable contribution to the religious literature of modern times.

J. S.

NILI CHHATRI
OR THE
THE BLUE UMBRELLA

BY

Mr. Zafar Omar

In this story Mr. Zafar Omar has broken new ground in Urdu literature and told the story of a complex character. The hero in his love of gathering treasures of art does not care what means he has to use to possess them. Indeed, it seems that it is the ingenuity and the use of his unrivilled powers of invention and organisation, which seek and find full play in the perilous adventures in which he is always engaged. He achieves the impossible without the assistance of Omar ayaar's zanbeel. The interest never flags, the story is told with a skill and a grace of style which is rarely found in popular novels sold on the railway platforms. We hope the author will find time to give us another instalment of his delightful book.

J. S.

Bhartri Hari—His life and Niti-shatak in Punjabi
Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar.

We have been really delighted to see this beautiful little book in Punjabi Vernacular. Its get up is excellent and printing up-to-date. The first seventy pages of the book are devoted to a biographical essay on the life of *Bhartri Hari* and in the middle of each of the succeeding pages is set a *Sloka* from *Niti Shatak* dressed in true Punjabi poetry, in a style similiar to that followed in the popular editions of Omar's *Rubāiyats*. The first seventy pages present to us the best example of the unique and chaste style of the Punjabi prose which the modern Punjab owes to Bhai Vir Singh, the gifted author of this book. Apart from its literary merit, the essay is a neat condensation of facts obtained by a careful research into the life of *Bhartri Hari*. All the available materials have been ransacked and the facts have been collected and co-ordinated in the true spirit of the modern historical research. We are thankful to the author for giving us an eloquent and most convincing defence of *Pingla* the famous *Rani* of *Bhartri* who, as we would now say, has been very unjustly blamed for being the cause of *Bhartris'* Vairagam. *Pingla* is the cause of his sadness which led him to become a monk, but in an altogether different sense.—*Bhartri* and *Pingla* loved each other. They in fact lived in each other and for each other. One day, *Bhartri* began praising woman-kind for the intensity of their love for man and how they die as *satees* on the pyre of their dead husbands. It was a similar sentiment which has been expressed by the Persian poet "*Masiha*" when he says :—

"Every one of us knows how the moth courts death and
all for the living flame,

But further goes the Hindu woman in her intensity,
She dies in love for the flame that burns no more."

Pingla differed from the Raja and said that true love would make it impossible for a woman to breathe after she hears the news of the death of her beloved. *Bhartri* foolishly puts the love of *Pingla* for him to a trial. He sends the news of his having been killed by a tiger in the forest, through a counsellor, with his blood-stained-clothes. On hearing the news and seeing the evidence produced before her, she falls down and dies. This was the turning point in the life of *Bhartri*.

Many pretty anecdotes of his monk-life are brought together by the author. On a moon-lit night, he sees a ruby shining on the ground and instinctively goes to pick it up. It was not a ruby, but a red Betel-nut stain.—“Fie,” he says “on me.” I still stretch my hand to pick up the rubies.”

Further an old Punjabi song of weird beauty on the life of *Bhartri* is published here for the first time. It is about three hundred years old and is sung by the wandering *Jogis* in the Punjab. Bhai Sahib has collected it—from these wandering minstrels piece by piece with great pains. It dramatizes the events before us in such a pathetic music as almost makes us monks in sympathy with *Bhartri*. We are compelled to agree with him when this author of “*Shingar Shatak*,” cannot persuade himself to reconcile again to his old joys of life. The story as Bhai Sahib remarks, could easily be staged by a few verbal changes. The poetical conception and execution of the song is classical. *Rani Pingla* sees a *Hira Hiran* (the black buck). Her eyes, and not she, get jealous of his eye. The eyes of the *Rani* have an altercation with the eyes of the *Hira Hiran*. This is the cause which leads the *Rani* to request *Bhartri* to kill the black buck. He refuses to do so and says :—What will the doe do? The Queen insists. The Raja goes out and kills the *Hira Hiran*. The *Hira* dies for no fault of his but for the intoxication of the wild beauty of the forest and its freedom, which was on him, and which allowed him to acknowledge none else

besides himself, not even the Queen of the Land, and not even her most beautiful eyes. The *Hira Hiran* lies dead pierced with the arrow, but the curse goes forth from the widowed doe that the king would also lose his mate. *Pingla* then dies under the circumstances already given. It is a beautiful picture of the doctrine of *Karma* painted by an unknown master.

The jewels of the *Nili Shatak* are given to the Punjab in their original purity. The book is a highly learned contribution to the Punjabi literature which is in process of development.

PURAN SINGH.

BULLETS AND BILLETS

by Bruce Bairnsfather

(*Grant Richards, Ltd.*)

This is a simple straightforward account of the now well known young artist's experiences in the early part of the war. An account of alternating spells of everyday life in the trenches where bullets large and small, rain around, and of rest in billets some distance behind the firing lines, where body can be cleaned, and mind recover its normal balance away from noise and horrors.

As amusing description of German and British fraternizing on Xmas Day 1914 in No Man's Land, is given. The writer says "The last I saw of this little affair was a vision of one of my machine Gunners who was a bit of an amateur hairdresser in civil life, cutting the unnaturally long hair of a docile Boche, who was patiently kneeling on the ground whilst the automatic clippers crept up the back of his neck."

Bullets and Billets is an account of the early—and shall we say romantic—days of the war. Trench warfare has been vastly improved in the last two years. The book closes when the author

is blown up by a shell and is sent home a "Fragment from France." "Bullets and Billets" is freely sprinkled with drawings large and small by the author. We hope to hear further of this gifted young soldier-artist-writer.

B. Y.

WAR

by Pierre Loti. Translated by Marjorie Laurie.

(T. WERNER LAURIE)

Pierre Loti is steeped in a deep love of his country and countrymen, he cannot—nay, does not desire to—shake off his horror and detestation of German trickery and crime; though the book is also full of pathetic, tender and picturesque incidents. He exclaims "Oh, all this that I say about them is not for the sake of uselessly stirring up the hatred of the world; no, but I believe it to be my duty to do all that in me lies, to arrest that perilous forgetfulness which will once again shut its eyes to their crimes.....We are quite capable of allowing the tentacles of the great devil fish gradually to worm their way again into our flesh."

He has seen many sides of the war and relates his thoughts thereon in his own inimitable style. His first horror at the use of death-bearing gas by the enemy, bursts forth thus "No language of man had ever anticipated such transcendent acts of infamy which would revolt the most degraded cannibals.....Suddenly in the midst of a volley of shells which surprised them in their first sleep, they could distinguish, here and there, little cautious sounds as if made stealthily by sirens. This was the death-bearing gas which was diffusing itself around them spreading out its thick, gloomy, grey clouds.....Distracted, suffocating, they remembered too late those masks which had been given them,.... some of them, feeling the scorching of their bronchia,.....yielded to a desire to run and it was these who were most terribly affected, for, breathing deeply in the effort of running, they inhaled vast quantities of chlorine gas."

Pierre Loti's tecture of the shelled Rheims Cathedral is very vivid. "The most irreparable disaster is the ruin of those great glass windows ; which the mysterious artists of the thirteenth century had piously wrought in meditation and dreams.....Irreplaceable masterpieces are scattered on the flagstones in fragments that can never be re-assembled—golds, reds and blues, of which the secret has been lost,.....a thousand precious fragments of the glasswork which in the course of centuries has acquired an iridescence something in the manner of opals, lies on the ground where indeed they still shine like gems.....In truth it is strange how the statue of Joan of Arc in the choir has remained standing calm, intact, immaculate without the smallest scratch upon her gown. The basilica of Rheims still keeps its place, as if by miracle, but so riddled and cut it is that it seems ready to collapse at the slightest shock."

Pierre Loti has that wonderful gift of imagery which in a few words leads you to see what *he* sees. Amongst many word pictures in this book on war I cannot refrain from quoting that on a military cemetery which he visited on a foggy winter's day,

"I do not think human imagination could ever conceive anything so dismal as this huge military cemetery in the midst of all this desolation. Here they lie these two or three hundreds of little hillocks, so narrow that it seems that space is precious, each one marked with its poor little white cross. Garlanded with frost, the arms of all these crosses seem fringed with sad, silent tears which have frozen there, unable to fall, and the fog envelops the whole scene so jealously, that the end of the cemetery cannot be clearly seen."

As a contrast to many chapters calling the Huns and their Kaiser to account for their fiendish acts committed on Belgian and French territory, it is a relief to turn to some of the light and tender touches sprinkled through these "War" pages. Some bring tears to the eyes, as in the case of the two little children lost at a railway station crowded with refugees and troops. "Lost in that mournful

throng were two quite young children, holding each other tightly by the hand, evidently two little brothers. The elder, five years of age, perhaps, was protecting the younger, whose age may have been three. No-one claimed them, no-one knew them.So overwhelmed were they with weariness and want of sleep that they did not even cry. Scarcely could they stand upright. They could not answer the questions that were put to them, but above all they refused to let go of each other, that they would not do. At last the elder brother, still gripping the other's hand for fear of losing him.....summoned up strength to speak to the lady with the brassard who was bending down to him, "Madame", he said in a very small beseeching voice, already half asleep "Madame, is any one going to put us to bed?"

Pierre Loti was received in audience by her Majesty the Queen of the Belgians, in giving us his accounts and impressions thereon, he will surprise many, in that he describes Queen Elizabeth as petite, rather than tall, with a small face in which shine two vivid blue eyes.

B. Y.

THE VERMILION BOX

by E. V. Lucas. (Methuen)

A series of letters written in E. V. Lucas' charming style since the war began. A delightful medley from town and country, and from the Front in France. It is less harrowing than most of our war books, the death of only one of the correspondents is recorded. Most of the letters reveal the underlying desire of their writers to live worthy of England's best traditions, to keep smiling and to back up those who are fighting for us in every possible way, this note is accentuated by the contrast of a few pessimistic letters complaining of everything and of everyone in power, and running down England for all they are worth. One gladly turns from this minority to others breathing of courage, hope and high aspirations or to those full of a practical energy interspersed with flashes of humour.

A school boy of sixteen writes persistently to his mother asking for her permission to enlist, on her equally persistent refusal to permit until his eighteenth birthday, he decides to run away from school, but is hauled back by an aunt with the promise of being taught to drive a Motor car so that he can act Chauffeur in the holidays. In one of his letters home he writes, "You simply must let me en'list. Several fellows younger than me have not come back this term but have gone into the Public School Battalion, and I look bigger and older than any of them, and you should just see my moustache, which I have been rubbing stuff on every night. I was told about it by Crosbie, and wrote for a pot. It is called Depilator and makes the hair grow like blazes."

Another writes "Let all your people marry say I, for even if they make a mistake they will have had a little pure happiness *en route* to the awakening; and since man is born' to trouble as the sparks fly upward, that is a great thing."

I cannot refrain from adding the following poem written before the war broke out, and quoted in one of the letters.

THE MOURNER

I met the Mother of my friend who died,
And kind and tender were the words she said
But this was what the poor eyes could not hide
What right have you to live and he be dead"

Those from whom the war has as yet exacted no toll, can scarcely pride themselves on their immunity, while those who have paid it may find numbers who have already trodden the same *Via Dolorosa*.

B. Y.

MIKE

E. F. Benson (*Cassell and Co.*)

This is a vivid story of the gradual thawing and consequent blossoming out of a reserved self-conscious man hiding under an

unprepossessing exterior, acute sensitiveness and great depth of affection. A man who in early life received no affection from his futile Mother or his pompous self-satisfied Father, Lord Ashbridge, Mike grew up without friends except for his cousin Francis whose irresponsible gaiety stood out in contrast to his own slow serious nature.

Mike early realized himself a ponderous bore, and withdrew, from cheerful company lest he should act as a wet blanket and spoil the joyous atmosphere. His breezy and unconventional aunt Lady Barbara tries to draw out her shy somewhat morose nephew but when she alludes to his friends, he says quite simply and directly "Friends? I haven't got any." On her remonstrating that this is nonsense he replies "I wish it was, Francis is a friend I know, He thinks me an odd old thing but he likes me. Other people don't. And I can't see why they should. I'm sure it's my fault. It's because I'm heavy. You said I was yourself" to which Lady Barbara replies "You wouldn't be heavy with people who understood you" and she proceeds to give him the following advice. "First. Get away from people who don't understand you, and whom incidentally you don't understand. Secondly. Try to see how ridiculous you and all other people are, and thirdly which is much the most important—don't think about yourself.....We're all odd old things as you say. We can only get away from this depressing fact by doing something and not thinking about ourselves. We can all try not to be Egoists. Egoism is the really heavy quality in the world.....and as for your not having any friends, that would be exceedingly sad if you had gone the right way to get them and failed. But you haven't. You haven't even gone among the people who could be your friends. Your friends broadly speaking must like the same sort of things as you. There must be a common basis."

To the disgust of his Father, Mike leaves the army where as a Guardsman he always felt as a fish out of water and starts on a new life of his own, against his parents wishes. He is passionately fond of Music and sets out for Baireuth. On the journey he falls

in with a young German musician, brother of the singer Sylvia Falbe who has recently created a furore in London with her beautiful voice and personality.

On his return from Germany he spends most of his time with the Falbes and in the easy going Bohemian life they lead, he gradually sheds his reserve and comes out of his shell. After some time he is surprised to find himself in love with Sylvia, they become engaged shortly before War breaks out. His dearest friend Hermann Falbe goes back to Germany to serve his country. Mike, of course, rejoins his regiment in London again now that there is work to be done, but his private life is beset with difficulties. I leave the reader to follow for himself the ups and downs of national pride and racial feeling between the Anglo-German pair, and the tragic climax on the battlefield.

B. Y.

JENNY ESSENDEN

(Andrew Melrose, Ltd., 3 York St.)

In a note which throws a veil of mystery over this powerfully written book, and enhances one's interest, as is no doubt intended, we are told that Jenny Essenden is written by a well known hand, though published anonymously for reasons of a domestic nature. It sets one guessing, but we will respect the Author's wishes and remark only that the novel is by no mere novice. It is an uncommon plot, and a materialist might find it an incredible one, the threads are cleverly intertwined, the actions of the four chief characters acting and re-acting on each other, till a clear way out seems impossible. The heroes are Mark and Lawrence Sturt, Maisie Archdale, and the clever, beautiful and unprincipled little Mondaine Jenny Essenden.

The reader's interest is held in enthralled speculation from start to finish.

B. Y.

THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL.

The Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council which has just come to a close was remarkable in more than one way. His Excellency the Viceroy's speeches, inspired and sustained by that largeness of heart and insight of statesmanship carried conviction in the minds of listeners. No wonder, therefore, that even veteran politicians in and outside Council—with whom we are afraid mere assurances of "Sympathy" and "Consideration" no longer carry any weight—read the situation aright and saw a definite and pronounced change in the attitude of the Government of India. The impression created was greatly improved by the speedy restoration to freedom of three of the principal fighters for self-Government on Congress lines and an assurance that Government were examining again the cases of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

To go back to the opening speech of His Excellency; the most important part refers to the question of how and when self-Government is to be attained by India.

Though the latter question has not been answered with any definiteness the policy regarding the former must

now be said to be fairly set in motion. To those who know the past history of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford it may not be a surprise that he should have placed development by evolution of Local self-Government as first among the constitutional reforms. All depends on the energy and vigour and may we add the depth of sympathy, with which Government and its principal officers address themselves to it. It stands to reason that a man must learn to manage his own household before setting his hands to the management of the nation but here as elsewhere the question whether or not he has undergone the apprenticeship should be decided by fairer test than that of the judgment of the master, especially when that master has some interest, personal or national, in keeping the man for evermore under tutelage. We mean no disparagement of that noble band of British Officers who had and have the fashioning of British India in their hands but the claims of first person singular are apt to blur vision and deaden sympathy.

The second method would be to increase and keep on increasing the number of Indians in responsible posts of administration. Here again the success largely depends on the kind of men you procure. A system of nomination with one eye to vested interests is as faulty and liable to break down as a system of competition pure and simple. It is to a judicious and happy intermingling of both these systems combined with a genuine love of progress that the Indian element in the Services can become both a source of strength to the Government and a growing advancement to the people. The third and last method referred to by His

Excellency contemplates the enlargement of Councils. As influencing—we were about to say controlling—all Governmental activity the importance of any step in this direction cannot be too much emphasised. As to how far any advance might be made here it would be very difficult to speak with any precision. In India, whatever may be said by some wordy politicians, we are confronted with a peculiarly constituted society made up of castes and coteries and creeds and communities which have not yet ceased to look upon one another with suspicion and distrust. It is difficult to conceive how before a quarter of a century, any form of parliamentary Government can thrive. The first start can only be made by giving control of some Departments to ministers responsible to Council, success attending such an experiment other Departments might successively be transferred to popular control. Simple provincial autonomy will not we are afraid be an unmixed blessing unless and until public opinion is sufficiently informed to be able to influence definitely the policy of the Government; we shall not be a whit nearer the goal of self-Government if the Simla Secretariat is replaced by the provincial Secretariats.

We have already referred to the cases of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues as well as to Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. In spite of the opinions to the contrary, we congratulate the Government on their brave step in rescinding their order in the case of the first three. Rightly or wrongly, the Indian public, Hindu and Muslim, were practically unanimous in proclaiming that Government struck at Mrs. Besant not in her personal capacity but as the head of an evergrowing movement. Such being the case it would have been worse than useless to ask for co-operation and to

keep Mrs. Besant interned. As for the two interned Muslim gentlemen we really think that the matter could not be left, at the present stage. The case should be referred to a tribunal which ought to be constituted for the examination of internment cases.

Unlike the previous Simla sessions a large number of controversial resolutions were admitted in the Session just over, the most important of these referring to the Public Services Commission report. Full three days were devoted to a discussion of but five out of 20 resolutions of which notice had been given and even though none of them has been accepted, we do not doubt that the discussion will bear fruit. The Indian point of view was very adequately if at times very warmly expressed by the non-official members, while the I. C. S. view was given expression to by the Home Member. Speaking generally—the former pleaded for equal opportunities and fulfilment of promises by throwing open to Indians equal facilities with Europeans to enter Government service. We ourselves do not believe in keeping up the racial preponderance with success for any length of time. Sir William Vincent is fully alive to changes which must come slowly but surely.

Grand Hotel, Simla.

K. C. ROY.

IN ALL LANDS.

None of the belligerents has given a reply to the Pope which opens the prospect of an early peace. President Wilson does not believe that the Kaisers will abide by the terms of a treaty as long as their actions are not effectively controlled by the German people, and inasmuch as the 'Tentons have as yet shown no signs of bestirring themselves for the attainment of a more democratic system of Government, he thinks that the time has not yet arrived for negotiating terms of peace. The European Allies generally approve of the American President's sentiments, but no statesman has indicated with precision what the German people are expected to do. The Kaiser yields to none in the use of high-sounding language and agrees to the limitation of armaments and to the substitution of arbitration in the place of war, but is silent about occupied territories.

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The German people cannot accuse their Emperor of having neglected their interests. He has not led a life of ease, luxury and carelessness. On the contrary he has for years devoted himself steadfastly to schemes of raising

Moral Issues.

his nation to the highest rank in the world. He has served them only too well and has not been very scrupulous about the means which would serve his ends. The American Government has been busy exposing the iniquities of German agents—how they bribe high as well as low officials and try to corrupt the political morals of the world, how they feign friendship and treacherously design the ruin of their friends. President Wilson seems to hope that the German people will ere long begin to loathe the Sovereign and his agents whose materialism has shocked the moral sense of the civilised world. But who has tested the moral sense of the people? Eucken himself defends the militarism of his Government with all his spiritual ideals and talk.



American democracy is not famous for its purity, and a former President was engaged in a
Dark Spots. crusade against Municipal corruption.

Yet in international dealings America has a clean record. Recent exposures have brought to light a shocking amount of venality in some of the Western countries. The Provisional Government in Russia charged some of the most influential advisers of the Tsar with corruption. In Sweden the conspiracy exposed by Mr. Lansing could not have flourished for so long a time if all officials had been honest. Luxburg, the German representative in the Argentine Republic, carried his treachery to the point of folly and was repudiated by his Government. Bernstoff in the United States was perhaps a little more prudent, but not much more

scrupulous, if Lansing is to be believed. Even the purity of a high French official was tempted, though not successfully. Nevertheless can we be sure that the German people are disgusted with these exposures?

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If the German people will not shear their Emperor of all power, and if the Allied nations
Peace and the Press. will not trust Kaisers to respect treaties, the war must continue until pressure from outside compels the Teutons to adopt the suggestions of the Allies. If safeguards are obtained for simultaneous reciprocal limitation of armaments the Allies will perhaps concede that Prussian militarism is sufficiently curbed. Nevertheless inasmuch as the Kaiser insists upon "true freedom and community of the high seas" and seems to treat the evacuation of occupied territory as a minor matter which may be settled when negotiations have proceeded far enough on the means of preventing recurrence of a war like the present, the Press in the West had denounced the German reply to the Pope as hypocritical but if the Allies are content to take the Kaiser at his word, the Pope may make a further attempt to bring the parties to an understanding.

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Freedom of the high seas and the reduction of armaments are not questions which can be
Fight On! quickly settled, when there are practically no strong and independent neutrals left in the world, and the chances of an agreement on these questions will be materially influenced

by the prospects of the war. As long as one sees no prospect of Germany being driven out of occupied territory she will insist upon such terms as will assure her the best advantage in a possible future conflict, and hence it is not altogether untrue that the only satisfactory solution of the war is that Germany must be beaten to her knees. But is the solution as easy as it may be true? The British army in Flanders has just scored a success and is gradually advancing. On the other hand the French report that the enemy is organising a strong offensive in the direction of Verdun. America is indeed making huge preparations, but that is across the Atlantic. We must now hear Ministers rather than aviators.

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A naval officer in America once expressed the hope that American brains would soon discover an effectual means of combating submarines. Germans have repeatedly expressed their confidence in submarines. Mr. Lloyd George said sometime ago that they were building a new cruiser type of these vessels and bade his nation be of stout heart. An invention is at last announced. It is a smoke-box. When these boxes are thrown overboard from a ship, a dense cloud of smoke is formed, and her exact position being concealed, the submarine is said to be defeated. It is alleged that this device has succeeded in several instances and that America is manufacturing millions of smoke-boxes. Brother Jonathan always does things on a huge scale. For one reason or another the number of ships destroyed by submarines has, temporarily

at least, shown a decline, and perhaps this happy result will be lasting.

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Democratic Governments have congratulated Russia on the revolution, and if it be a boon, credit may be claimed for the war to some extent. But he must be a bold man who will assert that the revolution came at the right moment. Its immediate effect was a disorganisation of the army and the navy. Personal ambition in some cases and ambition to save the country in others appear to confound confusion. Many would aspire to be Tsars in the place of the one that was compelled to abdicate. Korniloff's sensational description of the army made the world believe that he was a man who could set everything right. It appears now that his methods would be too harsh to succeed. What is worse, he would not be content to regenerate the army; he would wrest civil authority from Kerensky. He was dismissed as a traitor. Alexieff was installed in his place, and he too resigned. A Republic has been announced with Kerensky as Premier. Meanwhile the enemy has occupied Riga and valuable effects are being removed from Petrograd.

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Besides the additional measure of responsibility to be entrusted to non-official representatives of the people of India, as announced by Mr. Montagu, the public services will be constituted so as to include a larger number of Indians in high places. At the Simla Session of the Imperial Legislative Council last month the non-official

Post-War Reforms.

members moved a series of resolutions on the recommendations of the Public Services Commission. The Government welcomed the discussion which authoritatively formulated a large body of public opinion, but the Government could not commit itself by accepting any resolution, for the report of the Commission was still being considered by Local Governments. Even on the question of holding simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Civil Service the Government had an open mind. The silence which the Government is obliged to maintain exposes it to suspicion and misunderstanding. The European Press in India suspects that Mr. Montagu overrides all local authorities. H. E. the Viceroy's assurances ought to remove misapprehensions.

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With the abolition of the indenture system of emigration of Indian labour to the Colonies, it has become the interest of the Colonies to make emigration from India as attractive as possible. In the opinion of some Indians, labour should not be spared for the Colonies at all inasmuch as there is already a dearth of it here and wages would rise in the competition with the Colonies. From the landowner's point of view this reasoning is sound enough. But when prices are rising, it would be a hardship to the labourer to deny him the liberty of migrating and to compel him to accept the wages available in his own country. Colonial statesmen seem to think that it will be alike in the interest of the emigrant and of the Colony if he settles down there. His return to India

Emigration.

means that another recruit must be found. The Conference which met in England in May last has taken special care to make not merely emigration but settlement in Fiji and elsewhere as inviting to Indians as possible.

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The chief defects in the old system, next to the indenture itself, were that the recruit

Defects Cured. was induced to embark through insufficient information or misrepresentations, that in the Colony breaches of agreement were punished as crimes, that the social conditions of the community were conducive to immorality and domestic unhappiness, that the poverty of the emigrant left him stranded in the Colony, and that he could not see any advantage in trying to settle down there. The Conference has shown how all these defects may be removed. Better machinery has been recommended for the enlightenment of the recruit as to the kind of life he may lead in the Colony. Disreputable women will not be allowed to emigrate, and it is considered unnecessary to fix a ratio of female to male emigrants. If whole families are encouraged to emigrate, the social conditions will, it is expected, be sufficiently healthy. Agreements will be enforced under the civil law and reasonable facilities will be provided for return to India.

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Philanthropic workers, especially among the Depressed Classes as they are called, have

Helots at Home. drawn attention to the condition of many labourers in their own country. In Assam, Bengal, and Bihar the grievances of labourers

and tenants have from time to time received attention in official quarters. But elsewhere too, the ignorant suffer, not because the law has placed them under the thumb of oppressors, but because they do not know what their rights are and how they may utilise their liberty. Slavery is indeed abolished, but custom is so supreme in certain parts of the country that field labourers still consider themselves attached to the soil, or to the family that they have for generations served, and they agree to be sold by one land-owner to another. Where railways and other public works, coffee and other plantations, attract labour, the old notions are crumbling away but some people still believe in the legality of buying and selling labourers attached to land or to families.

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The response of educated Indians to the call for the defence of India was at first rather disappointing, and the Government had to call the attention of leaders to the danger to Indian reputation. The Press put forward various excuses, but in the end it turned out that more than 5,600 had applied for enlistment in the six months allowed. The Government was prepared to train 6,000. Some of the applicants will be rejected as physically unfit. Yet the response was on the whole creditable, and if more time be granted and another call made, it is clear that more recruits may be secured. For the present H. E. the Commander-in-Chief is of opinion that it is unnecessary to keep the door open. It is true that a few publicists proposed that recruitment should be discouraged

until the policy towards Home Rule was changed, but the country at large did not accept that view, and the enlistment went on irrespective of politics.

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His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in his first and last speech at the Imperial Recruiting Boards. Legislative Council, commended two publicists of his province for each bringing in 3,000 recruits for the Army. It was a marvellous record. His Honour was naturally so proud of it that he recommended the example to the non-official members of the Imperial Council, and contrasted it with the attitude which certain publicists elsewhere had taken up towards the Defence of India Force. Whether the challenge will be accepted by any of the non-official members and they will each secure not less than 3,000 recruits, or whether they will treat it with disdain the future must disclose. One of the non-official member proposed that two Indians must be placed on the Central Recruiting Board. The reason is not clear. Serving on the Board is perhaps equivalent to securing recruits. Sir W. Meyer thought otherwise.

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The spirit of obedience to constituted authority, which was a marked characteristic of Indians of the old school, is undoubtedly passing away, and as the example of emancipated Russia shows, the immediate manifestations of the new spirit may err on the side of license now and then. The liberated man generally wants to know how far he can go with impunity, and in the discovery he may go too far. The Madras Government issued a circular prohibiting the attendance of students at public political meetings. Many

Unpleasant Signs.

educationists must have felt that such prohibitions cannot be easily enforced. Evasions would not have caused surprise, for they pay homage to authority. But students at one place held a public meeting and resolved to "reject" the Government order, and sent a copy of the resolution to the Director of Public Instruction. It was a challenge to authority and the agitation in favour of Home Rule is saturating the young generation with a new spirit. It must not be forgotten that passive resistance, is a resistance all the same.

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While the release of the Home Rulers cannot be a sufficient ground for starting a European agitation and threatening Mr. Montagu with loss of his office, the momentous issues to be considered in the near future have undoubtedly led the European community to break the silence imposed by the war and to give organised expression to its views. The Chairman of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce protested in the Legislative Council at Simla that the patience of his community was being exhausted. A large meeting in Calcutta followed. Who can doubt that the European Community has influence in England? Will this influence be used for the permanent good of India and England.

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THE Government is alive to the necessity of trying by every legitimate means to prevent the unrest which high prices during war are apt to cause among the masses. Nevertheless the prices of many necessities of life have

**Adjustment of Inter-
ests.**

Recent Strikes.

steadily risen and are, from the stand-point of the poor, positively beyond his reach. Wages must, therefore, necessarily rise, and if these are not granted, the dissatisfaction will find expression in strikes. Two strikes in Bombay recently attained rather serious proportions. One was by the employees in the G. I. P. Railway workshop. It excited much feeling, because educated outsiders helped in organising relief. At last H. E. the Governor agreed to bring the parties to an understanding, and the strike subsided. The next strike was in the Postal Department. It lasted for several days and caused some inconvenience to the public. It brought the Director General of Post Offices on the scene. When once the prices rise, they tend to remain high, and hence mere war allowances do not seem to answer.



ONE of the incidents of poverty is indebtedness. Among the poorer classes of India it is heavy and appears to be almost universal. **Against Usury.** The indigenous Governments of old tried to regulate the rate of interest, and one rule which acquired the force of custom and law in some places was that the interest should never exceed the principal. More value is attached to freedom of contract under the British Government. Nevertheless several attempts have from time to time been made to afford relief to the debtor who finds himself in the clutches of a usurer. The Co-operative movement was designed partly to help the poor in obtaining cheap loans. But many a debtor is unable to join a society, for a sufficient number of such organisations do not exist. A long

overdue legislative measure introduced at Simla last month proposes to empower Courts of law to scrutinise a transaction between the lender and the borrower if it appears unconscionable and to give adequate relief to the debtor.

WITH reference to the paragraphs headed "The Post Office and people" and "The need for simpler procedure" at pages X to XII in the issue of the "East and West" for June 1917, I have the honour to make the following observations writes the Deputy Director General :--

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(1). The purchase and sale of Government Securities are made by the Post Office at the current market rate for the day on which the application is received by the Account-General, Posts and Telegraphs, as certified to by the Public Debt Office. It is often difficult to reconcile the varying rates quoted by Banks and brokers, and the only practical course for the Post Office is to take its rate invariably from a recognised source as is done in the British Post Office. With a view to prevent any misunderstanding in the minds of the public the rules on the subject in the Post Office Guide have been made clear in its Supplement of July 1917 of which a copy is enclosed.

(2). It is true that a person applying for the sale of Government Securities purchased in the name or on behalf of a minor is, under the rules, required to produce a certificate of guardianship. It is necessary to adopt this course in order to comply with the law but in cases where the applicant is the father of the minor the production of this certificate is dispensed with provided that he furnishes

a bond of indemnity with sureties. This reasonable precaution is taken with a view to safeguard the interests of the minor as well as of the Department.

(3). Apart from legal objections to the opening of accounts in the Post Office Savings Bank in the joint names of two or more persons, practical difficulties are involved in the adoption of this measure which cannot be undertaken at the present time. It may be mentioned that investments in Government Securities through the Post Office are allowed in joint names provided that the applicant takes delivery of the Securities.

2. As regards the statement that "the Treasurer, Charitable Endowments gives effect to powers of attorney but the Post Office does not accept them," I beg to say that there is no objection to a person holding a general power of attorney from the depositor of a public account being allowed to operate on the account so long as there is no change in the incumbent, and I shall be glad if you will kindly furnish particulars of any case in which the Post Office has refused to accept a power of attorney so as to enable me to have enquiries made into the matter.

We thank the Director-General of Post Offices and Telegraphs for his letter published in this issue, and we beg respectfully to make the following suggestions :—

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(1). The Public Debt Office at Calcutta whose quotations are to be accepted by the Post Office when selling or purchasing Government Securities will probably furnish them *every day* to the Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs at Calcutta. That Officer

**Postal Savings Bank
Rules.**

may be asked to wire them daily to at least the Presidency Postmasters and the head offices in every Province treated as a local Government. These, in their turn, should be instructed to send this information by wire to subordinate Post Offices when they ask for it for their constituents. Unless such orders are issued, those who wish to buy or sell through the Post Office will be as much handicapped as they are now.

(2). There is a Public Debt Office at Bombay and at Madras and it is hardly fair that depositors in these presidencies should not have the benefit of their quotations. If Pass-books were issued for investments through the Post Office no reference to Calcutta would be necessary, and valuable time would not be lost. This degree of decentralisation will make the whole procedure more elastic, more business like. For example, while the money articles in the Bombay papers say that Terminable Loan Notes sell at 95, the Calcutta rate, according to the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs is about 88. To be more accurate that was the rate according to him on June 13th last, when also the Bombay rate was 95, and it may be presumed the difference continues. The Director-General, if he wishes to satisfy himself on this point, may refer to the Times of India, and the A-G's letter No. 2471—G.S.

(3). The present forms for the sale of Government Promissory Notes should be amended so as to allow depositors to sell not only the $3\frac{1}{2}$ % Notes but those of the other Loans (including the War Loan), and the clause in these for the purchase of securities out of the sale-proceeds should be similarly wider.

(4). In all cases in which the certificate that "the amount sought to be withdrawn is required for the benefit of the minor" is considered sufficient by the Post Office, a similar certificate should enable a guardian to sell securities in the custody of the Post Office on behalf of his ward. If this is clearly laid down in the Rules, the Post Office will incur no risk whatever. An indemnity bond requires a stamp, so also a surety-bond. It is hardly justifiable to punish those who want to make a provision for their children by compelling them to pay such taxes. And it is extremely unfair to demand such bonds when the guardian does not really withdraw even a pie but asks the Post Office to purchase other Securities for his ward, out of the sale-proceeds of securities.

(5). The reasons which have led Government to allow joint ownership of Government securities, and the Bank to allow the opening of joint accounts are quite sufficient to justify the reform advocated by several influential bodies. There is no legal difficulty in the way, and practical difficulties can be overcome by the Post Office just as they have been by the Public Debt Office and the Banks. A commencement may be made by allowing accounts and investments by two persons jointly.

With reference to the last paragraph of the D.G.'s letter we have been permitted by our correspondent to inform him that such an authority as the Postmaster-General, Bombay Presidency, refused to allow a person holding a general power of attorney to operate on a public account (No. 32622), that the donor of the power, thereupon protested, and after correspondence *for nearly four months, and more than a month after the publication of our June*

notes, the prohibition was withdrawn by letter No. 60086, dated July 26, 1917 from the said authority to the attorney.

APPEAL BY H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

The great Marine Charities of this Country have through long years rendered continuous and much needed service to the seafaring Members of the Community.

**King George's Fund
for Sailors.**

Owing to the stress of War, heavy calls have been made upon their resources, and these are likely to increase rather than diminish.

In the wide field of their combined activities these Charities minister to the manifold needs of the sailor, while helping to lessen his anxieties for the dear ones at home. The Institutions include Seamen's Hospitals, Hostels, Orphanages, Training Schools and Ships, Pension and Destitute Funds. Their benefits are extended to the men of the Royal Navy and its auxiliaries, the Royal Marines, the Merchant Service, the Mine-sweepers and Fishermen, and to all "who go down to the Sea in Ships."

To meet the need for their fuller and more sustained support King George's Fund for Sailors has been founded.

The King has graciously consented to become Patron of the Fund and His Royal Highness Prince Albert has accepted the office of President and at his request I have undertaken the duties of Chairman.

At the Inaugural Meeting at the Mansion House, the First Lord of the Admiralty stated: "The King, in command-

ing that this Fund shall be called by his name, sends us one more message of his interest in his Sailor population, and his earnest prayer and desire that the Nation may liberally and splendidly respond to the Appeal which is now being made.

To-day, when the safety of our shores and indeed the existence of the Empire depend so largely upon the endurance and self-sacrifice of British Seamen, I confidently rely upon a sympathetic and generous support of the Public to our Appeal, in the belief that what has been achieved in fearless action, ceaseless watching, and patient waiting is not forgotten, and that the debt owed to the Navy and Mercantile Marine will be fully and heartily discharged."

Contributions may be sent to me, addressed to King George's Fund for Sailors, Trinity House, London, E. C. 3.

ARTHUR, CHAIRMAN.



In order to stimulate in India a closer study of the war, the Central Committee of the War League offer a prize of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand rupees) for the best forecast of the *military position on the 31st December* 1917. The fuller and more detailed the forecast, the better. Competitors are not debarred from including a political forecast, but it is the military rather than the political situation upon which the War League desire to concentrate attention; and it is for the best forecast of the military position that the prize is offered. Assuming two military forecasts to be of equal merit, that one which included an accurate foreshadowing of the political situation in any of the belligerent countries would be awarded the prize.

The prize of 1 thousand
rupees.

Helpful Advice to Nursing Mothers

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FROM CLOUDLAND.

THE dust-storm of words raised on both sides, over the difficult and urgent problem of providing for an effective association of the people of India with the Government of the country without impairing its efficiency, is likely to obscure the question at issue. On both sides there are signs of impatience and hurry. The Indians by a long stride are anxious to reach up to the level of other advanced countries, and make the best of the promise contained in the Declaration made by His Majesty's Government. The ordinary Britisher in India, soaked in the traditions that have grown round him, does not see into the future but is only conscious that any re-arrangement means loss of power. The Indian is forgetting the old saying "that which ripens slowly is the sweetest." The Britisher must recognise that it has been the claim and the pride of his Government that India was held in trust for the people of India. Both must cultivate a spirit of confidence and hope and work

A Call for Unity.

together for the moral and material advancement of three hundred millions of God's people. The policy declared by His Majesty's Government has not been conceived in a hurry or without much thought, and a willing acceptance of it by English people in India can alone help in the removal of misunderstandings which have been growing for years. The moment is ripe for a closer union, and yet alas! self-assertion is closing the paths of good-will and darkening the possibilities of the future. We must all see "men and not States as the fundamental interest of politics," remembering that nothing so becomes a Trustee as a cheerful openness of disposition combined with an earnest desire to serve the best interests of the beneficiary. Let the Britisher ask what does he mean by his Empire in India? What is its relation to the universal desire of mankind for a rule of permanent peace and social justice? Are things in India to go on for ever as they have gone on before? Is the promise so often and solemnly made that Indians can look hopefully forward to the time when they will be equal partners in the commonwealth of the Empire tragically empty? If not what steps are to be taken towards the attainment of the ideal? What are the proposals of the British people in India? Do they know better than His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy? If not what has been done to create an atmosphere of good-will so that the next step may become a stronger link of union than before between the two people? It would be idle to ignore that the permanent official, if he puts himself in opposition to popular aspirations, is likely to lose the confidence of the people, and that he cannot afford to do without.

Already the voice in which the demand is being made is growing thick with anger. The recognition of the plain reality

that the Indians too are of the brotherhood would disperse the clouds for ever. It is not a verbal acceptance that is required but an acceptance of spirit and heart and soul. It will mean normal health for the Empire. Do we demand that a sick man shall attain his health before we help him to grow healthy? Do we not wish him to be healthy and do all we can to help him to a recovery? India has been sick, is almost convalescent and belongs to the family. Why not practise a little Christian science and believe in a recovery in place of continuous reminders of sickness, and make a united effort towards a healthy state.

* * *

For the people of the cave, unfamiliar with the world of light and only at home in perpetual twilight, afraid to incur the laughter of their fellow caves-men, there is no room in the dawn of a new day in India. But for men of faith and creative genius, India offers the most fascinating field of work. There are great dreams to be dreamt about India, and it is only men with imagination and generosity who can help towards the realisation of these dreams. Things must exist in imagination before they can be translated into reality. What would you think of a guardian or a trustee who could not think of his beneficiary acting independently of himself? A constitution must be found for India to provide scope for the growing needs of public men anxious to serve the common weal, irrespective of caste, creed, and colour. It is the British people who provided the plan and they must now help in building the superstructure. The foundations of the constitution have already been laid, and the construction should not begin in a hurry or in a spirit of expediency. The constitution should provide growing

room for a growing country to promote its highest interests. There used to be a custom in India on all important—gay and grave—occasions to make up all differences, ignore the family feuds, so that the whole family or clan came together to bless the event. Can we not follow the old custom? Let by-gones be by-gones, forget and forgive and gather together—both Britisher and Indians—in a spirit of mutual good-will, and work out a constitution for India worthy of its past, and worthy of the British Empire? Any one who starts a current of ill-will at the present moment, Indian or Britisher, forgets his responsibility to future generations. In the excitement of the moment he does not see the prison life of custom which he would perpetuate, unconscious of the desperate beating of wings and breast against the bars from which men are seeking an escape.



Since the announcement by the Secretary of State of the policy of His Majesty's Government of increased association of Indians in every branch of administration, and gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realisation of responsible Government as an integral part of the British Empire, the whole country is discussing various schemes of reform. The officials are no less busy than the non-officials, the former approach the problem from a purely Indian point, while the latter are anxious to find a compromise between expediency and efficiency, without impairing the British character of the administration. A solution has to be discovered which will carry with it the bulk of the intelligent population, Indian and European. We all—Indians as well as Europeans—

**Search for a
Constitution.**

FROM CLOUDLAND

officials as well as non-officials—should approach the question in a spirit of earnestness as seekers after a constitution, suited to India at its present stage, at the same time providing ample scope for future adjustments.

* * *

There can be nothing more helpful in framing a constitution for India than a study of systems which obtain in self-governing colonies. Some of our demands will be found in advance, while others will suggest lines on which we should proceed. New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia have all a Governor and Executive Council of Ministers, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Commonwealth of Australia has a Senate of 36 members elected for 6 years, and a House of Representatives of 70 elected for 3 years. New South Wales has a Legislative Council of 21 appointed by the Crown for life, and a Legislative Assembly of 90 elected for 3 years. Victoria has a Legislative Council of 34 elected for 6 years, and a Legislative Assembly of 65 elected for 3 years. South Australia has a Legislative Council of 20 elected for 6 years, and a House of Assembly of 46 elected for 3 years. Queensland has a Legislative Council of 38 nominated for life by the Crown and a Legislative Assembly of 72 elected for 3 years. Tasmania has a Legislative Council of 18 elected for 6 years, and a House of Assembly of 30 elected for 3 years. Western Australia has a Legislative Council of 30 elected for 6 years, and a Legislative Council of 50 elected for 3 years. New Zealand has a Legislative Council of 34 appointed by the Governor for 7 years, and a House of Representatives of 80 elected for 3 years. South Africa has a Senate of 40 of

which 32 are elected and 8 nominated by the Governor-General, and a House of Assembly of 130 elected for 5 years. Canada has a Governor-General and a Privy Council of Ministers, a Senate of 87 nominated by the Governor-General for life, and a House of Commons of 234 elected for 5 years.

In the Crown Colonies the Governor enjoys larger powers, and has the right (*a*) of veto, (*b*) to initiate measures dealing with revenue, (*c*) to legislate independently by Orders in Council.

* *

The principle that in a dependency peopled by men fit for self-government the Ministers ought to be responsible to the representative Assembly was recognised early in English Colonial policy. Responsible Government was granted to the Canadian Colonies almost at once, to most of the Australian Colonies in the Fifties, and to the African Colonies from 1872 onwards.

A sequel to the granting of responsible Ministries has been the formation of Confederations in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In the first two at any rate, this has had the result of developing national feeling and diminishing interference from home.

Imperial control is exercised through:—

- (1) the appointed Governor,
- (2) the veto on legislation,
- (3) the control of foreign relations,
- (4) the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

As regards the veto it is by no means obsolete. Three or four Colonial Acts are vetoed by the Crown every year.

They are generally such as are prejudicial to the other parts of the Empire or to foreign countries. The result of the system has been the growth of a strong Imperial sentiment. *Decreased dependence on the Mother country has been followed by an increase of loyalty.*

* *

As illustrations of what has happened in what are now known as the Crown Colonies, the cases of Jamaica and Malta are instructive.

In Jamaica—almost immediately after the capture of the Island in 1655,—a Government was established consisting of a Governor from home, an appointed Council and an elected Assembly. This form of Government did not work satisfactorily, and in the early part of the 19th century Imperial legislation in the shape of the prohibition of the slave trade (1807) and the abolition of slavery (1833) caused great distress.

The interference of the Imperial Parliament in domestic affairs (Regulation of Prisons) caused the Assembly to go on strike. In 1846 free trade increased distress, and the colony became almost bankrupt. Ultimately in 1854 a compromise was arrived at, the Governor being given an Executive Committee nominated by him from the Assembly. This worked fairly well for a time but friction again occurred. In 1865, however, the negro revolt, suppressed by Governor Eyre, thoroughly frightened the whites, and they were ready to agree to anything in order to get a strong Executive. Accordingly, in 1866 the elective Assembly was abolished after an existence of 200 years. A single Council of 6 officials and 6 non-officials was substituted, all the members were nominated,

When the planters recovered from their fright, they began to agitate for an elective Council and in 1884 they were given a Council consisting of the Governor, 9 appointed (4 officials and 5 non-officials) and 9 elected members. The effect of the Government majority was modified by two provisos. *On financial questions a two-third vote of the elective members, and on other questions a unanimous vote of those members, was to be decisive* unless the Governor considered the matter of paramount political importance in which case he could override the decision.

In 1897 the constitution was amended again. Elected members were raised to 14 and those nominated to 10, but the Governor could add 4 more nominated members if a question of great importance made it necessary to do so. Now, apparently, the council consists of 5 ex-officio members, 10 nominated and 14 elected members.

In Malta the Governor was given an Advisory Council in 1838-39, and in 1849 a Council of Government was created consisting of 10 appointed (including the Governor) and 8 elected members. Opposition and agitation resulted, and in 1887 Government gave way and the appointed members were reduced to 6 and the elected raised to fourteen. On money bills only the elected members counted, but the Crown had—

- (a) veto
- (b) exclusive right to initiate measures dealing with revenue, and
- (c) power to legislate independently by Orders in Council.

Racial feeling was stirred by the Hewson incident in 1898 and the elected members refused supply and the money bills were passed over their heads by an Order in

Council. Further agitation followed, largely on the language question, and in 1903 the Council was abolished and in its place another substituted consisting of the Governor, 10 appointed, and 8 elected members.

* * *

Experience has proved that "A colony can be governed by its own people, orby the
The Lessons. Mother Country, but under ordinary conditions it cannot be governed successfully by a combination of the two, and hence the English dominions overseas are sharply separated into two groups, one that of self-governing colonies, which have tended towards more and more complete control of their own affairs, the other that of the Crown Colonies which have tended to lose the remnants of self-government that they possessed "... "A legislature elected by the people, coupled with a Governor appointed by a distant power, is a contrivance for fomenting dissensions and making them perpetual."

* * *

The famous Nineteen, the Congress and the Muslim League, the late Mr. Gokhale, and
Indian Schemes of Reforms. Lord Islington have given expression to their views. They are all agreed that the Provincial Executive Government should consist of a Governor and a Council. The Nineteen would apply this only to the major provinces. The others would have it in all provinces.

All are agreed that the members of the Council should be half of them English and half of them Indian. Gokhale would have 6, Lord Islington 4, while the Nineteen and the Congress and the Muslim League do not specify the number.

The Nineteen and the Congress and the Muslim League would have the Indian Members elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council, while Gokhale and Lord Islington would have them appointed, like the English members.

The Nineteen would have the European element composed as far as possible of English public men : the Congress and Muslim League would not ordinarily appoint members of the Indian Civil Service, Gokhale would regard them as eligible but not entitled, while Lord Islington does not mention the point.

The Governor, according to the Nineteen and Gokhale, should be appointed from Home. The Congress and Muslim League and Lord Islington would regard members of the Service as eligible, but the Congress and the Muslim League add that the Governor should not ordinarily belong to the Services.

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As regard the size of the Provincial Legislative Councils, the Congress and Muslim League recommend not less than 125 for major provinces, and 50—75 for minor. The Nineteen say not less than 100 for major and 60—75 for minor, Gokhale says 75—100 while Lord Islington thinks any considerable increase unnecessary and undesirable.

The Nineteen ask for a substantial elected majority, the Congress and Muslim League recommend four-fifths elected, Gokhale says not less than four-fifths, while Lord Islington appears to be opposed to an elected majority.

Gokhale remarks that there should be no nominated non-officials, except experts. A few officials may be nominated as experts or to represent the Executive.

* *

The Nineteen and the Congress and Muslim League would have direct election on as broad a franchise as possible. Both ask for special minority representation. The

**Franchise and
Constituencies.**

Congress and Muslim League suggest special Muhammadan representation, Muhammadans being excluded from other Constituencies. Lord Islington would have direct election where possible, but otherwise would continue present community franchise.

Gokhale, though himself in favour of direct election, out of deference to official opinion proposes indirect election by Municipalities and District Boards. He would, however, have direct election by certain classes, *e.g.*, Chamber of Commerce, Deccan Sirdars, etc., and would have special representation of Muhammadans and other communities such as Lingayats.

* *

Gokhale and the Congress and Muslim League (a) agree in recommending that divided heads be abolished. Gokhale would make customs, post and telegraphs, mint, salt, railways and tributes Imperial. The Congress and Muslim League would add army and navy and opium. All others would be Provincial. But this would not give Imperial Governments sufficient revenue and so Provincial Governments should pay fixed contributions to Imperial Government. The Nineteen and Lord Islington do not deal with this matter.

Power and Finance.

(b) In regard to the control to be exercised by the Legislative Council over the Executive, Gokhale and the Congress and Muslim League differ widely. The Nineteen appear to agree with Congress and Muslim League but merely says that the Legislative Council should legislate on, and discuss and pass resolutions relating to all matters of Provincial administration" and that the Governor should have a veto, subject to certain conditions and limitations. The Congress and Muslim League, however, say that the Council should "have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation and to vote on the Budget." All money proposals are to come up in the form of Bills which cannot be introduced without the consent of Government. Resolutions are to be binding unless vetoed, but in spite of the veto effect must be given to them if they are repeated after not less than a year. It is not, however, made clear, whether if, after the power of the veto has been exhausted on a resolution, a Bill is brought in to give effect to the resolution, Government will retain its power of uncontrolled veto on the bill when passed by the Council.

Gokhale's position is here very different. The Legislative Council is to be in somewhat the same position as the Reichstag. Its consent is to be required to legislation, and additions or changes in taxation, but the Budget should not come up as a Bill, and resolutions in regard to it may be vetoed by the Governor. Similarly there would be an absolute power of veto on other resolutions. The Provincial Government would have complete charge of the internal administration subject only to this amount of control on the part of the Legislative Council

The Congress and Muslim League and the Nineteen would have half the members elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Congress and Muslim League would not ordinarily appoint members of Indian Civil Service and Nineteen think European members should as far as possible be English public men.

Lord Islington says :—"The liberalization of the supreme Legislative and Executive Council would follow the lines which I have sketched in the case of Provincial councils, but in view of the greater importance of the matters in which the Imperial authorities have to deal progress would necessarily be slower and would be dependent on the changes in the Provincial Governments."

Gokhale says two at least of the members out of six should be Indian. Finance, Law, Interior Defence, Communications and Foreign.

As regards powers, the Congress and Muslim League say that Government of India should not ordinarily interfere in Provincial matters, and should as far as possible in legislative and administrative matters be independent of the Secretary of State. The Government of India would make all appointments to the Imperial services.



The Congress and Muslim League would raise the number to 150, and have four-fifths of them elected. Nineteen would have not less than 150 and ask for a substantial elected majority.

**Imperial Legislative
Council, Sine, Consti-
tution and Franchise.**

Gokhale on the other hand, though he would raise the number to about 100, would retain the official or at any rate the nominated majority.

The Congress and Muslim League propose that the franchise should be widened as far as possible on the present lines, and that Provincial Councils should also elect members.

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The suggestions of the Congress and Muslim League follow for the most part those made by
Powers and Finance. them in regard to Provincial Councils.

The Imperial Council shall pass laws in matters in regard to which uniform legislation for India as a whole is desirable, and in particular they shall deal with tariffs, customs, currency, banking, and the granting of bounties to industries. They shall also have power to impose, remove, or alter any tax or cess.

The Nineteen go into less details, but are in agreement as regards matters to be excluded from the competence of the Legislative Council such as war, peace, foreign and political treaties and military affairs. They would, however, allow it to deal with commercial treaties.

The Nineteen also stipulate for certain unspecified restrictions on the veto of the Governor-General. They do not mention the veto of the Crown for which the Congress and Muslim League provide.

Gokhale's proposals for provinces would make them practically autonomous, but he would reserve power to the Imperial Council to legislate over their heads if they refused to pass necessary legislation.

So far as discussion goes, he would apparently allow them to discuss any subjects, even Army and Navy.

In fiscal matters they should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State whose control in other matters also should be largely reduced.

• • •

The Congress and Muslim League and the Nineteen would abolish the Council, and put the Secretary of State on the same footing as Secretary of State for Colonies, place the salary on British estimates, and appoint two Under-Secretaries of whom one should be Indian.

Gokhale agrees generally, though he makes no mention of the Indian Under Secretary. As stated above, he would do away with the Secretary of State's fiscal control and reduce his control on other matters.

Lord Islington refrains from discussing the position of the Secretary of State, but recognizes that changes are necessary. For the present, the Council in some form must be retained.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the views expressed by Mr. Montagu in his speech on the Mesopotamia Report on July 12, 1917, shortly before he was appointed Secretary of State for India.

He expressed himself in favour of putting the salary of the Secretary on the British Estimates, and of the abolition or reconstitution of the Council.

The House of Commons should have more control over the Secretary of State than at present, and the Government of India should be less dependent on the Secretary of State. But if the Viceroy and the Indian Executive are to

be freed from some of their responsibilities to the Secretary of State and the House of Commons, their responsibility to the people of India must be increased.

Mr. Montagu looked forward to a "series of self-governing Provinces and Principalities, federated by one central government," as the goal of our rule in India. Some instalment should be given to show that we were in earnest something in the direction of giving them "greater representative institutions" in some form or other, and greater control over the executive.

Lord Islington—and Gokale apparently agrees in the main—would hand over entirely to the Provincial Governments, in the major provinces, police, education, agriculture, forests, public works and industries. He would give adequate power of taxation, and greater control of provincial balances subject to the power of superior authority to intervene for the purpose of preventing the squandering of Provincial resources. He speaks of giving "more representative control through the medium of elected representatives" and suggests that this might be done by means of standing Committees on the French plan. These standing Committees are really sub-committees of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate. There are standing committees for the Budget, for the audit of the accounts, for army matters, for labour questions, for railways, etc. Except in the case of the first two, their sole business appears to be the consideration of Bills dealing with their particular department before they are submitted to the Chamber. These Committees would assist the executive in framing its proposals on certain specified groups of question. Lord Islington speaks as though an elected majority was out of the question, and yet he contemplates Government modifying its policy in deference to the Council, and

throwing the responsibility on to the Council. In this way, he thinks, it will be possible to make the elected Councillors responsible for policy, and make them realize that for whatever they say or do they will be held accountable to constituents, free to displace them if they fail to give satisfaction.

As regards Legislation, the Congress and Muslim League provide that all Bills shall require the assent of the Governor and may be vetoed by the Governor-General or the Crown. The Nineteen apparently would place limits on the veto. What Gokhale would do is not quite clear, nor does his remark about the Reichstag help, as the Reichstag alone cannot pass a Bill into law. The Bundesrath too must pass it. Lord Islington clearly contemplates a veto but he is against constituting the Legislative Council in such a way as to make its use frequent.

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The Congress and Muslim League do not touch this subject at all and the Nineteen merely
Local Self-Government. say that a full measure of Local Self-Government should be granted. Lord Islington urges that "immediate development should begin in the Panchayats, the organ of village Government in municipalities and in district boards." He would apparently have Presidents of Municipalities elected direct by the Municipal Electorate. Gokhale lays great stress on Local Self-Government. He says that the scheme of Provincial autonomy will be incomplete without it. Government will have to exercise stringent control, but subject to that there should be Panchayats for villages and village-groups (partly nominated and partly elected) and Municipal Boards in towns and Taluq Boards in Taluqas (entirely elected). He thinks the district too

big a unit for Local Self-Government, and would limit the powers of District Boards, leaving the Collector ex-officio President. He would finance the Panchayats, Municipalities and Taluq Boards by giving them a portion of the excise revenue to supplement their other resources.

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The Conspectus of the schemes put forward by the Congress and the Muslim League
The Colonial Pattern. should be considered in relation to institutions in the self-governing and Crown Colonies. A glance will show that most of the self-governing colonies have two houses. The Governor has an Executive Council of Ministers and in many cases the Crown nominates all the members to the upper house for life. The movement in India towards Self-Government shall have to be on similar lines so that no occasion in future may arise for a retrograde movement. The Viceroy should have definite powers and retain his predominant position. He should have a council of six, three of whom should be Indians. The Viceroy should have complete freedom to select and appoint the ministers. He will no doubt seek the co-operation of men who command public confidence but a system of election for these ministries will be a new departure and without precedent. The question of an Imperial Senate should also be seriously considered. What prevents a crank from making revolutions and running through the stored energy of the mainspring is a small hand which prevents its going backward. The next step should be to entrust Indian Ministers with particular Departments and make them responsible for them subject to public confidence. The creation of a

responsible party in the council itself apart from the officials will be urgently required. It has been suggested that non-official members should elect from among themselves a certain number of men to be called "Council Secretaries" to be appointed with the approval of the Government. These Council Secretaries would be something like Parliamentary Under Secretaries of State and would assist the member in charge. They would draft replies and in most cases read them out themselves. This direct touch with problems of administration of selected men will go far to balance and foster healthy public opinion. The Viceroy's Council should be enlarged but expansion in this direction should be slow. What is wanted is men of power and influence and public spirit and not mere numbers.

The Provincial Governments should be made practically autonomous with a Governor and an Executive Council on the same lines as the Viceregal Council. The Viceroy should however retain the power of initiative and control. The electorate should begin in the villages and should provide for the election of the wisest and the best available men. The aim should be not to substitute one bureaucracy for another but the attainment of popular Government in the true sense of the word. The step about to be taken should provide for substantial opportunities of serving the popular cause and practical training in public affairs. These reforms will tend to transfer responsibility from Whitehall to India. The Council of the Secretary of State shall have to undergo a change but the change should not be such as to deprive India entirely from benefiting by those generous impulses which in the past have come through the Secretary of State.

The opinion is gaining strength amongst the Sikhs and finds expression in private discussions and the press that Sikh interests are suffering an eclipse and the Sikh demand is not adequately voiced. It is said that silence is interpreted into acquiescence and in the coming reforms the Sikhs will be left out again, unless they make a strong demand like sister communities. The apprehension is not without good reason. The Sikhs in spite of their unrivalled services to the Empire were left out at the time of the Minto-Morley reforms. They are in the Provincial and Imperial Councils only on sufferance. This is not as it should be. Perhaps under the new scheme they will get two seats in the Punjab and another on the Imperial Council. Will this satisfy the community? It is feared not. On the other hand it must be recognised that men at all times are masters of their own destiny, and it is their own fault if they are not scaling the heights. The old weary path which led to success before holds forth promise of final triumph. Sikhs must organise their education and imbue it with the spirit of Sikhism. They must organise their villages, towns, districts and the central representative assembly. Here there is no waiting for any leaders. The work lies with the humble and the poor, and it is the humble and the poor who were the strength of the Khalsa in the days of old and are their hope of the future. Let the humble and the earnest begin the work and organise village assemblies. Let these village assemblies, in co-operation with the towns, organise town associations. Let these town associations send representatives to the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Such an organisation will prove more than any words can ever do the power and capacity of the Sikhs to organise and to administer.

If this can be done before Mr. Montagu leaves India they would have proved their fitness for self-government. Here is the lead; will the members of the community set themselves to work? It is a work that will bless the present and the future. It will mean an organised community ready to make the best use of its opportunities on most efficient and effective lines in the domain of education, industries economic and social advancement. Sikhs are the most democratic people in India, it will be proof of their democratic strength if they begin with self-government in spheres which need no charter and yet will insure the charter as a matter of course. Here is an opportunity for all young and old, rich and poor, to shoulder their burdens and set to work. Sikhs have never begged before and the new times will not bring strength if they renounce their traditions. It is only self help and organisation that can restore to them their old position. It will show other communities that work must begin at home to be lasting and enduring. Let those who are in earnest put their shoulder to the wheel and begin and they will not be left without guidance. The watchword should be organisation leading to solid work; even Gods by continuous churning of water produced only poison.

* * *

The Simla season has come and gone and the station is putting on its winter mantle. Many of us are sorry to leave this beautiful station for the plains. Simla is no longer the gay and frivolous Olympun as it used to be in the days of Lord Lytton and Rudyard Kipling. It is now the workshop of the Government of India. Those who are in the know fully realise the strenuous life which the officials lead,

Simla Season, 1917.

and do not envy their laborious days and wakeful nights. How many of us are capable of performing the task which forms a part of the daily routine ? For those of us who can, where is the opportunity ! Honour, however, to them, to whom honour is due.



This is the first time in the history of Simla that the
Legislative Council has been called
Legislative Department. upon to consider important measures.

It means that the old tradition is gone, and Simla is destined to play a very important part in the Legislative history of the Empire. The Legislative Department has had a strenuous time since the beginning of war and the way war legislation has been carried into effect does great credit to the Law Member and Mr. Muddiman the gifted Secretary.



The Home Department since the outbreak of the war has been over-burdened with work.
The Home Department. The fight with forces of disorder has not crippled its energies. The usury bill, which Sir William Vincent introduced at the Simla session, has been long over due and will be welcomed all over the country. Add to this the reform scheme, the consideration of the report of the Public Service Commission, and one can imagine the pressure of work at the Home Department. Sir James DuBoulay remarked the other day that he did not know when he was not at work. There are many urgent problems before the Department which it must face with confidence and courage, remembering that public confidence is the surest guarantee of public peace.

The Finance Department. The Finance Department has had a strenuous time to meet the war demands. Its work is so complex and of such a technical nature that only few can understand it.

The war has raised new questions of currency and Finance, and the Department will do well to follow the Home Government and seek the co-operation of Financial experts. Sir William Meyer has grappled with the situation manfully in spite of criticisms from all sides. To him we owe a deep debt of gratitude for the way in which he has stood by India in the hour of need. The question of ways and means for next year will continue to give anxiety, but the railway earnings already show 3 crores over the estimate, and Income and Salt tax revenues are also satisfactory. The question remains "Will this be enough?"

* *

The Commerce and Industry. The Commerce and Industry Department is now almost a War Department and very little can be said about its activities. All the same the question of emigration, banking, legislation, post war trade reforms are among the many subjects which have been receiving attention. Sir George Barnes is confronted with a serious problem in the Railway policy, and one of the many questions he is expected to decide, is the question of company versus State management of Indian Railways. The opinion in India is in favour of State management.

* *

Revenue and Agriculture. In the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, the question of agricultural education is nearing settlement, but we must frankly confess that one is tired of conference circular letters on this subject. Sir Claude Hill however

is keen on agricultural education and his efforts may bear fruit. Mr. Sly's report on the P. W. D. re-organisation is being considered. From what one has already heard about it, it will please nobody and in spite of the Committee's unanimity the report is bound to evoke a good deal of criticism.

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In the Education Department Sir Sankaran Nair has been giving special attention to Primary Education and the development of Local Self-Government. The question of University reform has been already taken up and the final decision will await the recommendations of Calcutta University Commission. The Hindu University is now an accomplished fact, and the Muslim University at Aligarh will take definite shape at no distant date. Sir Edward Maclagan has returned to office after his three months' leave. The whole of the Punjab, irrespective of caste and creed, expects him to come to his own. The Punjab is growing rapidly into self consciousness, and will need the guidance of one, in whom it has confidence and whose love of the old Province is undoubted. No one but a Punjabi can understand the Punjab and Sir Edward Maclagan is a Punjabi to the core.

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The Foreign and Political Department have had many difficulties which are better imagined than described. The long frontier line—Afghanistan, Persia, Tibet, Siam and Mesopotamia—give enough work to Mr. Anthony Grant who is now on a short well earned holiday. Mr. J. B. Wood is busy with the Conference

**The Education
Department.**

**Foreign and Political
Department.**

of the Chiefs which is likely to grow into a powerful constitutional assembly, and it will require foresight and statesmanship to keep clear the line of demarcation between the feudatory states and British India. It is to be hoped that at the Conference about to meet, something will be heard of the responsibilities which Princes owe to their people and the paramount power, as well as of their own right and privileges.

* * *

The new Commander-in-Chief took the reins of the Indian Army at a critical moment and success has crowned his efforts in all the fields. The Indian Army was starved for years in spite of the great fight which General Sir O'Moore Creagh made for it. However a change has come, and the new Commander-in-Chief has almost a free hand. It is hoped that he will make the best of his opportunities. The question of officering the Indian Army is becoming serious. The men who have risen from the ranks or the men who have found their way into the I. A. R. O. are not likely to maintain the tradition which made the Indian Army such a splendid arm when it was officered by the flower of the English race. The only solution, apart from the question of providing careers for Indians, is to officer a few Indian regiments by Indian Officers, thus adding to the effectiveness of the Indian Army and meeting Indian aspirations.

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The closing of the Simla season leads to the transfer of Imperial activities to Delhi and the most important event will be the arrival and stay in the ancient Capital of India of the Secretary of State and his entourage. There he will confer

The Coming Events.

with the Government of India and the representatives of the Punjab, United Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province and the Central Provinces. Then there is the Chiefs' Conference which will be attended by no less than forty Chiefs, big and small. The Nizam, the Maharajahs Mysore and Baroda will be missed. The distinguishing feature of this year's conference will be the banquet to be given in honour of India's representatives at the Imperial War Cabinet over which His Excellency the Viceroy will preside. The Jam Sahib is making elaborate preparations for the function at which a Sword of Honour valued at about Rs. 65,000 will be presented to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir; while cups valued at about Rs. 25,000 each will be presented to His Honour Sir James Meston and the Hon^{ble} Sir S. P. Sinha.

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The Government of India will be so busy with the visit of the Secretary of State that it is doubtful if His Excellency the Viceroy will be able to summon the Imperial Legislative Council before the first week of February. Thus February will be devoted to the general work of the Council, while March will be taken up in considering the Budget. The short session will provide strenuous work both for the officials and the non-officials.

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Among the many subjects likely to come before the Council none will be so interesting as the question of State versus Company management of Indian Railways with special reference to the future of the East Indian Railway. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola is sure to return to the charge and demand an answer from Government. And the answer

is in the lap of the Gods. It is well known that among the provincial Governments consulted, both Lord Willingdon and Lord Carmichael are for State management, while Lord Pentland is not credited with any particular views of his own. As for the Lieutenant Governors they are in favour of both the systems developing side by side.

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**Separation of
Judicial & Executive.** The question of the separation of the Executive and the Judicial functions is likely to be brought forward again next cold weather and with eminent lawyers like Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Sapru the question is bound to be brought to a head if not to a solution. It was Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee who moved a resolution on the subject several years ago, when the non-official voting was unanimously on his side.

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The Land Tax. Another important subject, which is likely to be pressed for acceptance, will be the recommendation that future Land Revenue assessment should be included in the acts of Provincial Legislative Councils. This question was raised in the Decentralization Commission's report but the Government of India and the Secretary of State came to a unanimous conclusion and negatived the proposal.

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**Local Government
Board.** Then again there is the question of the creation of Local Government Boards at Provincial capitals, and this is likely to be the subject of a resolution in the ensuing Session of the Council. It was in the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon that the question was first raised, but the official opposition

consistently refused to accept the suggestion. It is believed that it is now viewed with more sympathy and less distrust. When Mr. Bannerjee last raised this question he received nothing but a cold douche from Sir Harcourt Butler.

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The creation of a Governorship in Council for the United Provinces is likely to crop up again. It threatens to become an eternal question. Many other questions of equal importance are likely to be raised but it is yet too early for any definite forecast. The Railway questions will undoubtedly loom large next cold weather.

The U. P. Executive Council.

AN ELECTORAL SYSTEM FOR INDIA.

HITHERTO India has been governed by a Government which has deemed it its duty to govern as far as it could see its way to so doing for the good of the governed. This Government is the lineal descendant of that which the British found when they came to India, but in pre-British days it sometimes happened that the good of the Governing classes ranked above that of the Governed. Hitherto the idea of 'Government by the People for the People' has been an idea entirely foreign to the people of India—at least in the sense in which the phrase is understood by the democracies of the west. Up till now so far as my experience of history goes, such an idea has been unknown in any tropical country save possibly for a few years among the Arabs at the time of the early Caliphate, but once the Caliphate enlarged the idea was lost, no attempt at representation having apparently ever been thought of.

It has been stated that nations are a product of their environment. Is representative Government a product of the cool temperate countries where are extremes of neither heat nor cold? Is a tropical climate and the lethargy that results therefrom intrinsically inimicable to "popular institutions" which by their very nature require that the majority at least of the citizens shall personally exert themselves in regard to matters connected with the

common weal, and as a consequence are tropical nations likely as a whole to leave the task of Government to those paid to do it ? Or is it merely a question of education, and given education of a sufficient and suitable character may we expect that the "popular institutions" of the western democracies will flourish on tropical soil—subject it may well be to certain modifications ?

The answer to these questions no man can yet give, such indications as can be drawn from the history of the more tropical American republics are, it must be admitted, scarcely of hopeful augury, but the cases are scarcely parallel. For better or for worse it has now been decided that India shall embark on this experiment—possibly the greatest in the art of Government that the world has ever seen.

The basis of such form of Government is the method adopted for selecting representatives to form the Legislature. Given a satisfactory method for this, the superstructure is of less importance and errors therein are likely to be rectified without any great difficulty. It seems therefore of primary importance to consider first how to secure a satisfactory representation.

In India we have an enormous population with clearly marked lines of cleavage, and with practically only one very small class which at present is really vocal. It is possibly due to intrinsic causes, possibly to insufficient education, but the fact remains that while the various groups of the population adhere closely together, and members of a group can be found to represent their group satisfactorily, it is very much more difficult to find men truly representative of two or more groups, or members of

one group truly representative of the interests of another. Even Britain has now seen the mistake of allowing the lawyer and professional politician largely to monopolise the task of "representing" all others. Here in India the tendency for the lawyer, as the one really vocal class, to monopolise all representation is even more marked and the result far less satisfactory. The chief truly non-vocal classes *i. e.*, the cultivator and the small landowner, have, rightly or wrongly, in a very large number of cases the greatest distrust of the lawyer. I can from personal experience say that repeatedly when a proposal that certain matters be decided under circumstances where neither party was to be allowed to have "legal advice" was set before an assembled village, that proposal was welcomed with enthusiasm. I have heard such remarks as "the lawyers ruin everything" made and applauded in such assemblies. Not that there are not many honourable lawyers, but there is undoubtedly still a very widespread feeling in favour of cases being dealt with directly as between the parties and the 'hakim' (presiding officer of the court) without any intervention of the pleader, although from fear of the other party getting the better of him through a pleader most litigants, when they can afford so to do, feel bound to employ one. But is not this a strong argument for preventing the lawyer from "representing" such people?

I suggest therefore an extension of the system of representation by groups. This system has already been recognised as advisable to a considerable extent. Thus Muhammadans and landowners both have their own representatives. But nothing has been done to ensure the Indian commercial man being represented on the councils save in so far as he may belong to some Chamber of

Commerce with a right to nominate a member. In fact if the Indian man of commerce came more to the front it would be a very good thing, but to a large extent he seems to regard politics and Councils as matters that do not concern him. Still less is the cultivator represented, though his interests are upheld to a considerable extent by official members.

I would therefore suggest that the electorate be divided up into various groups such as the following :— (I) Christians, (a) Europeans, (b) Eurasians, (c) Indians ; (II) Hindus, (a) Cultivators, (b) Labourers, (c) Landowners, (d) Merchants, (e) Professional classes ; (III) Jains ; (IV) Muhammadans, (a) Cultivators, (b) Labourers, (c) Landowners, (d) Merchants, (e) Professional Classes ; (V) Parsis ; (VI) Sikhs. Obviously in some Provinces some of the groups would not occur or would be in such small numbers as not to be of sufficient importance to form a separate group, while in others there would be other groups. Thus in the Punjab it might be advisable to subdivide Sikhs. But I do not profess to work out details, merely to outline the method for so doing ; the criterion for determining whether any body of electors should form a group might be their number or the amount paid by them in taxes. Numbers might then be allotted to each group at the rate of one per 100,000 literate male adults, and one per 200,000 illiterate, subject to the proviso that the minimum number of members for any group be three, no matter how small its numbers. The definition of literate might be that adopted at the Census, *i.e.*, ability to read and write a letter. Let all literate adult males vote and elect their own members (subject of course to certain ordinary exceptions such as criminals) by the ordinary secret ballot, but let

illiterates be represented by members nominated by Government, and require that each group be represented by members of that group and not by a member of any other group, save possibly that it might be advisable to allow a certain proportion of the members nominated to represent illiterates to be officials. It might further be advisable to allow certain bodies such as Universities to return members, though possibly these would be sufficiently represented in the 'Professional Classes' group. The number of members assigned to each group and to be elected or nominated would be revised after each Census.

It would be necessary to provide for the case of a man deriving his income from sources which would place him in two or more groups. In such a case he should be required to classify his income and would be placed in that group under the heading of which the largest portion of his income fell ; at the same time if more than one-third of his total income was derived from sources falling under another group-head he might well be allowed a vote in that group too. In this way a man might have votes in two groups but never in more than two ; but he should only be allowed to represent that group in which his chief source of income placed him.

Legislation affecting any one or more groups in particular should not be deemed passed unless approved by a majority of the members representing that group or groups. If, however, there were at least as large a proportion of the other members in favour of any such legislation as there was of members of the affected group or groups against it, it should be a recognised necessity, embodied in the constitution, that such legislation should require the special consideration of the Government of India in whatever way that

might be constituted. An example will make my meaning clearer : — Assume that the legislation under consideration is something that affects in particular Muhammadans, and that three-fourths of the Muhammadan members opposed it ; unless therefore at least three-fourths of all non-Muhammadan members favoured the proposal it would be deemed entirely lost ; if not less than three-fourths of such members supported it, the proposal would be submitted to the Government of India to be dealt with by the Viceroy's Legislative Council on similar lines, and if there also it failed to secure the support of a majority of the Muhammadan members the Viceroy should have full discretion to veto it, a discretion of a freer character than the more or less nominal power of veto ordinarily possessed in regard to legislation that has the support of a Legislative Council. This explanation will make it clear why a minimum of three representatives has been proposed for a group. It would probably be necessary to provide for the decision of disputes as to whether any particular piece of legislation did or did not affect a particular group in the way here contemplated. Such disputes, if the decision of the President of the Council were not accepted, might well be referred to the Supreme Court of India if there were one, or if there were not to a special Bench of three Chief Justices of High Courts.

Lastly it might be advisable to lay down that no constitutional change should be further considered unless supported by a clear majority of each group, or a three-fourths majority of the whole Council.

This sketch is of course incomplete and requires much working out in detail, and probably several modifications,

but I believe it contains the germs of a system that might well prove suitable to India. Its advantages are :—

(1) It would ensure the true representation of all substantial interests in a reasonably fair proportion to their interests and numbers, and would prevent the Council being largely monopolised by one class as at present. It is true that, the smaller a minority was, if it formed a separate group, the larger in proportion would be its representation, but this disproportion would never result in a smaller number of electors being represented by a larger number of members than a larger number would be; moreover the interests of the smaller groups would as a rule be greater in proportion to their numbers than those of the larger groups.

(2) It would ensure the careful consideration of the claims of minorities and prevent their being overridden in a ruthless fashion. In this connection consider for example a question of tenancy legislation ; neither landlords aided by others could override tenants, nor could tenants similarly aided override landlords ; the two parties would be forced to compromise as either could block the other's proposals.

(3) It would provide an electoral system that would automatically widen and become progressively more democratic with the spread of education. There would be no necessity to alter the franchise 'per saltum,' a process apparently invariably of an upsetting character. An assembly so constituted with the check noted above on constitutional changes might probably be safely left to work out such changes.

(4) It would act as a stimulus to education.

(5) It should go far to prevent the rise of any system of Party politics and all the evils that system involves; and this alone would be worth a great deal.

There should result steady and cautious progress which is what is most essential at the present time, for is not the state of Russia a terrible example of the result of an attempt to bar all progress towards popular institutions followed by a headlong plunge therein without proper preparation, the result being that the plunge has been into chaos ?

A constitution based on a sound electoral system combined with a vigorous industrial policy, and the organisation of the villages on the panchayat system should go far towards rendering India contented and prosperous.

BHARATATMYA.

WORLD WORK AND GOVERNMENT.

IF there had been a universal understanding about this, there would have been no War; and if we could see our way to it now, the War would soon end.

But without the War there would even now be danger of darkening counsel by words without knowledge, while few would be disposed to listen to counsel, the immediate necessity of which was not apparent !

The subject indeed is so full of matter, that in the multitude of words about it we are not seldom left without any advance of enlightenment ! Yet the world's belly, in consequence of the war, is 'as wine which has no vent and is ready to burst like new bottles' !

If, in attempting to go to the point of our objective, brevity must be the soul of our wit, then we may say, that in trying to work 'in co-operation with God and the Neighbour,' we must take up our personal responsibilities, as Job did, when he remarked to his comforters, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him; but I will maintain mine own ways before Him" !

But we need not be so sure in trusting the Neighbour, though we love him ever so much; unless he is loyal to God,

and the co-operative organisation, for the work for "The Daily Bread" of God's entire Humanity! !

Unless we are individually careful over this we may have the masses playing football while a couple of Emperors, trusted with too much power, are quietly arranging a sudden onslaught on the parties, under pretence that some small State, whose domestic concerns have been meddled with, proposes attacking the World.

Secrets of this sort are not apt to leak out, except when letters or telegrams miscarry, and get into the hands of seekers after 'Truth'. Search of the records in Russia has led to some inconvenient disclosures of Imperial diplomacy!

There being two principal things that influence the mind of Humanity which have been somewhat ambiguously defined as 'The Ideal, and The Real', our work often gets muddled by confusion between the two, and even by mistaking one for the other!

If the universal mind is set on a Heavenly Ideal, we may conclude that with its sense of the beautiful, it will be ever striving to materialise the Ideal, and finding innumerable ugly obstacles in the way.

If the Heavenly Ideal can be materialised into a single glorious crystal, such as the diamond, then it may be imagined to occur by the elimination of every particle of its ugly matrix, and not to lose, but gain, lustre, from the loving labour of the humble lapidary. Some such process in the world's experience of human fallibility has resulted in the attributes of God being determined as the antithesis

of those human impulses causing grief to the individual, to the neighbour, or to the whole mass of God's children.

Jesus worked this by winnowing the evil in men's thoughts from the good; and thus laying the foundation for good 'co-operative work' between all classes of people; He Himself showing '*The way*' to self and world-government, for the common need of all, the material matter of '*The Daily Bread*.'

With this ideal forming a dominant force in the world we know that God's Eternal Judgment ever present, by which all human motives will be estimated, is steadying progress; and it is only the inertia of systems that are faulty, which delays the realisation of God's Kingdom on Earth.

If then systems are faulty, what are the faults, and how are we to remedy them?

We may perhaps do worse than go to the oldest system in operation, that of India, for conducting a State where the work is mostly that of Agriculture.

Hinduism classes the business under 4 Great Castes; which may be said to apply to all States of the world equally well.

First comes the Priestly Caste comprising many Sub-Castes of various denominations. These work in the Spiritual sphere.

Next, the Military Caste, raised from many Races, Sub-Castes, and Creeds. These supply protection.

Then, the Trader,—the principal agency for financing and distributing the Crops;—the medium between producer and consumer.

And lastly the Labour, and Hand-craftsman, which supplies the physical and mechanical force for producing, with God's co-operation, the Food and other necessities required by Humanity.

Of the Labour Classes there are any number of Sub-Castes, springing from race, religion, social position, and occupation; while all the Castes follow the educated leaders more or less. Circumstances tend to form Sub-Castes, some originating in defunct Nationalities and immigrants on the soil, where their autonomous government as independent or Feudal States has disappeared or never existed.

Under the Indian System then, Government from long distant times' has been through the Caste system, and personal leading of priestly or Feudal rulers, who have at any moment occupied, more or less permanently, any territorial area.

With the disappearance of the Ruler, or invasion of the State, the priests and the Castes nevertheless have survived, and are here to this day.

The Bishop of Dornakal in the third edition of '*India and Missions*' published by the Christian Literary Society for India, tells us there are 2,300 Castes in India.

When we consider what circumstances of Race, Creed, domicile, calling, and work, go to differentiate the sub-castes all over India, it is hardly surprising that this large number of castes should arise, in 14 British Provinces comprising 275 Districts averaging 4,000 square miles each; while there are in addition 675 Native States.

147 distinct languages bear evidence to a considerable amount of permanency of occupation of territory at some time or other.

Notwithstanding Local Nationality has since assumed a state of flux, either from feudal wars, disorganisation, or British protection, these languages remain, while many have disappeared altogether.

We are in the habit of hearing a good deal about the evils of the caste system, and especially from Christian Missionaries.

It is conceivable that if Government anywhere was designed to be on a Priestly despotic principle, then uniformity of dogma and ritual might be considered essential. Such forms of Government have been tried, but proved failures. Witness the attempt to govern Europe from Rome through the Church; of the Judges to rule the Jews; of the Buddha, Mahommet and various Mahdis to assume Central Personal rule, which ended in military forcible suppression accompanied by destruction of temples, robbery and murder in God's Name !

But the Hindoo 'system' indicates that the Priestly force is only one of four making up the whole for working a State, or the World.

Then if a perfectly sane and efficient mentality for *the work to be done*—which is not only 'praying' but 'acting' also—is the aim of the world's scientists, then Government will never be left wholly to the tender mercies of any one of the Four Great Castes to exercise despotic sway; but all peoples who are able to exercise ordinary intelligence will

desire, both Local and World-Government to be conducted, with the united wisdom of the *whole of the Four*.

Now if we go to the skilled workman for advice, he will tell us that work goes on best under personal scientific direction; and he that essays to 'direct' work of any description, should be posted up in all the information possessed by the Four Great Castes, in respect of the 'Right Spirit' and 'Practice' of work generally; and that 'organisation' for the work, and the system on which it is to be carried out, should be proportioned to the magnitude and quality of the effect to be produced.

There will be the 'individual effort and stress,' for which Religion and technical education or experience fits and differentiates people for occupations of all sorts; who, if there be general freedom for competition for excellence, acquire positions and material advancement according to their capacities, and moral trustworthiness.

Then there will be the 'Collective' effort of masses, or of the whole world, the organisation for which has to be on lines commensurate with the 'Object' of the work to be done.

To fix the 'object' then is the first consideration; and it does not always suggest itself as coming within practical politics, till a 'necessity' presses, and action is imperative. The necessity for drastic action of the whole world has come about, from the importance which scientific development of the world's material resources has assumed, and which has caused 'power' to determine the principal objective of the whole work of all humanity, to pass from the entire mass to the few scientists determining the details of world Policy.

Under stress of Militarism and Commercial combines with a centre on Berlin, this has led to disaster.

Production and distribution owing to scientific methods has been cheapened, and quality improved. Land can be developed to high states of cultivation, and distribution of products rapidly effected by aid of the Factory. Masses can be organised for joint efforts through Financial systems which only require confidence in good motives behind them to establish 'CREDIT' for the promoters. But here the Devil is apt to sneak in, under polite and highly moral disguises.

With a consciousness of physical or other power what is more tempting than to save personal effort by quietly appropriating the products of other people's labour, under a claim of divine right to personal superiority, and the wickedness of the neighbour, in possessing what others covet !

To give effect to such ideals militarism in excelsis is essential. But it has the drawback in Germany of being mistaken for the reality of God's objective, as interpreted by the Prophets and accepted by the great mass of Humanity. It is not consistent with the attributes of a Heavenly Father, caring for the paternity He has exercised, the powers and instructions He has vouchsafed, and whose ' Presence ' for support is universally felt, through the Holy Ghost, preserving the supremacy of the power of God (the Good) over the Evil in man (the Devil) for all who work with it.

If this truly represents what all Religions have at the bottom of them, we may easily see that unlicensed

Militarism from any quarter of the world, not working on the Universal Religious ideal, is a distinct Devilry actually ruling in subversion of God's will. Every scientific plan and method, for conducting the work of Humanity in the gross, for the Daily bread to be delivered at every Poor man's door is then converted to an instrument for his rapid and unexpected destruction in the greatest masses possible.

The Teutonic mind behind the aggressive policy is that accurately defined by Professor Nietzsche, the preacher of war, as something infinitely "beyond Good or Evil." This is the natural outcome of the Feudal environment of Centuries, added to the necessity of coping with the Reality of a defective system, in which a diplomacy of Ideality—namely, Christianity—within the Imperial system, cannot be worked. The name of Jesus has never been uttered by the Kaiser in connection with his World-policy.

Nietzsche's conclusion was, that the natural impulse of the individual being to 'exploit' the neighbour was the only fact worth reckoning with. It should therefore form the basis of all Feudal Government and diplomacy! In thus honestly stating his case, he was dealing with the real, and not the ideal of Imperialism; and no greater condemnation of the 'System' needs advancing. Further, when the Imperial policy was bent to extend operations outside the Empire, then it was the necessity met by the opposition of the free peoples working on the Christian ideal. Again, when the principle of Imperial exploiting the neighbours expanded to the design of controlling free peoples, and their Trade routes, by force of arms, with a view to appropriating their property in support of Kaiserism, then the supremacy of Germany

'above all or downfall' prophesied by Bernhardi was a foregone conclusion, requiring very little divine inspiration to pronounce it.

England has gone through almost every possible experience, and has arrived at a position of considerable liberty. But she has been obliged, as a trading Nation and a Christian Power, to join in the war, brought about by an abuse of power by Germany.

Abuse of power may take other directions than that of placing the Government of the world at the mercy of the Pirate and military raider. Let us look into the action of the *Trading Caste*, and the proper limitations to its usefulness.

Through the financial system in vogue, and the centralisation of control effected through Banks and Syndicalism, it results in it being easy for intermediaries to intervene between producers and consumers, so as to affect the natural flow between demand and supply.

Prices may in this way be artificially raised at one time, and similarly depressed at another.

By the action of subsidies and bounties, and import and other duties, or by favoring railway or transport charges, out of the public revenues, fair competition may be destroyed, and monopolies of supply established.

If the consumers of the world are to be protected against these disturbing factors affecting their food supplies and power to produce commodities at lowest cost, then the organisation for the purpose must consist—in all international trade transactions—of checks established at the boundaries of States.

In other words autonomous States must render their economic fiscal position autonomous, as producers and suppliers to the world; and support their peoples by domestic expansion, before they admit or seek the foreigner for partnership in the exchanges. This shows that a State can best develop itself, by avoiding indebtedness, exercising thrift, and using surplus energy in providing itself with reproductive works, for its own use if possible.

All nations have done this at times; but in course of economic development it has come about that some have found it 'pay best' to develop agriculture, while others have developed products of the Factory, trusting to exchange of the products for mutual advantage.

Trust and confidence in partners is a valuable asset to the world's workers for mutual benefit; but the test of excellence and cheapness in the markets can only be arrived at by free and widely decentralised 'competition'; thus admitting the benefits of local cheap and good supplies to reach the common markets, and stimulate industry all the world over.

But it is quite another thing if the whole world's work is divided between the 'Field' and the 'Factory' by a wholesale combination of one kind of production against that of the other. Yet this is the particular object which Berlin has in mind in its military capitalistic world-policy, accompanied by the worst form of usury,—treachery bribing, and sedition.

The Nietzschean world-policy followed to its logical conclusion means exploiting the neighbour by crushing

him with fire and brimstone, and rendering him impotent for economic survival or expansion of industries ; thus making the Factory mass the Ruler of the Agricultural mass, and its becoming the instrument of support of a military despotism independent of the people, through foreign trade.

To render local work efficient, Local Government must then have protection, and power to meet these disabilities, and to circumvent the disturbing factors of new inventions, and insidious combines, the joy of ungodly Scientists, bent on exploiting the neighbour !

The Trader is an indispensable agency in the distribution of the products of labour ; but his operations require checking to prevent his exploiting the world's people, by unfair practices. Competition in the domestic and foreign markets alone secures the necessary check. The monopolist of power or profit is the world's enemy. Though his goods may be cheap at one time, he is cunningly laying the foundation for making the public pay dearly at another.

Again, it is folly for a State to hanker after foreign trade while its own people are insufficiently employed on domestic supplies, and dependent on the foreigner for food !

Nor is it wise of a State to fail in protecting its own Capital, or to become indebted to the foreigner, who may meddle in its domestic matters.

If this is so, the greatest benefit to the world arises, not from a few Capitalist manufacturing countries supplying the world with the latest inventions, but in all stimulating their labour to produce their own. To effect this means a

large measure of State 'protection' in world economic development; whereas the policy from Berlin has been to centralise all development on Prussia; and the Teutonic States have given up their armies, their Customs, and the possibility of Capital expansion, to create a vast monopoly for Kaiserdom, and the Race, financed from Berlin !

The Nietzschean postulate of 'exploitation of the neighbour' viewed as an academic truth, was long ago considered by Jesus, and its treatment as the Highest World-Science applicable to the work and government of humanity is expounded in the New Testament. While Nietzsche's theory of world-government is based on a mere local experience of Feudal conditions, Jesus was the Judge of world-forces in action, which He saw called for regeneration of 'Individuals' and Races in their relation to one another.

Could it be imagined that in this matter any of those posing as rulers should be exempt from co-operation under the Law He evolved ?

Queen Victoria did not think so. The majesty of her diplomacy amidst the high tensions of the European Feudalism surrounding England, invariably proclaimed the Divinity of the Christ-Lead. Notwithstanding this, the influence of Judaism that from the time of Moses has represented the world's Vaisya—or Trading—Caste has always met with its due recognition in the work of the Empire, as that of one of the FOUR GREAT CASTES ; but not as the spirit of Government itself.

Her Majesty's lead, so ably followed by King Edward in his effort to steady Germany in its Government's

dangerous aggressive designs, has not failed in the least; as witnessed by the unanimous verdict of all free Christian Nations, India, China, and Japan, etc.

What is hampering the world at the moment is the Psychology of those in power, and those out of it, in the effort to cope with a world awry, struggling under irreconcilable working arrangements, and diverse ideals of perfection. Those in power, not wholly responsible for the positions they find themselves in, are sometimes driven to the unenviable choice of one of two courses. Either they must resign, or hack their way through.

The awkward medium suggesting itself is, prevarication and lying in the effort to establish self-superiority and justification.

Thus at the latest stage of the *impasse* we are confronted by the Grandson of Queen Victoria endeavoring to establish the fact that he was misled, by H. M. King George stating verbally to an unaccredited intermediary what England would do in an undeveloped event, which turned out quite different, when it became the subject of responsible official action.

This illustrates the difference between the autocratic procedure of the German Feudal System, and that of the Constitutional co-operative system of Popular Monarchy of England.

In most work and business we do not know what we are going at any moment to do, till we know what others mean to do simultaneously, either to assist or thwart our good objective. Germany knew what the Empire meant to

do; and the Emperor alone was charged with the diplomacy for effecting it. England and the world knew what Germany was *likely* to do, but could not say how the Emperor would move or be moved, and when; or even whether he was really the ruling authority under the German system, that he was supposed to be. He has publicly stated he did not will the War.

But under the English System, everything is known, and published abroad; and a well recognised fact—that important issues are not decided, and steps taken except with the full consent of the ministry—bars the validity of accepting any statements, except through the authorised official channels.

But our own system is not above reproach in this respect, and has extremely embarrassing results in governing the country. In its foreign relations, a country cannot allow the supreme power to be exercised by subordinates; yet we see in the present peace manœuvring this very thing happening, and government drifting into the hands of Soldiers' and Workmen's Committees and Socialist parties, in the midst of a most critical business, that of war; bound to be wholly in favour of the Military Despot and its System, worked and aided by treachery and sedition—which at present holds the stage.

To imagine the masses the custodians of the world's morals, and working through their united governments to ensure their effective action is a Heavenly 'Ideal.' But till organisation of World-Government to make it a 'reality' is in full working order and every cranny closed to the possibility of 'exploiting the neighbour' in every quarter of the

globe, the heavenly ideal can never become the divinely real.

Well we know the masses cannot move or work harmoniously without deliberately considered plans, organisations and methods.

But if these are not arranged for with the united power and wisdom of the four Great Castes, then counsel will simply be that of the predominant 'interest' of any one of them, or of the noisiest of Subcastes, or the most blatant meddling individual.

Where is the intelligent worker, reckoned from an Emperor down to the lowest outcaste, who can carry out the details of the job entrusted to him, while his responsibilities are continually being meddled with, for which he is endeavouring to save time and effort, and turn out the best product for the wage received ?

The result must always be a muddle, for which the meddler escapes the penalty. What does Job, who evidently spoke as a Great Ruler and experienced Workman, say about the direction of work, and the efficient procedure of authority ?

Addressing the Almighty he says :—" Only do not two things unto me: then will I not hide myself from Thee.

" Withdraw thine hand far from me: and let not Thy dread make me afraid.

" Then call Thou, and I will answer: or let me speak and answer Thou me.

“ How many are mine iniquities and sins ? make me know my transgression and my sin.

“ Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and holdest me for thine enemy ? ”

What more instruction does humanity require than these magnificent words giving concise instruction for the world's work and government ? Yes, one thing is lacking ; which was supplied by Jesus 1550 years later. It was, to know the right principal object of all work ; and the right thoughts for ensuring co-operation of the mass of workers in performing it !

From these two authorities, the records of History dealing with the world's work and government, and the immediate needs of masses we are dealing with, we know, that all our hopes are summed up in the Lord's Prayer ; and that the principal evil the masses suffer under is, the failure of World-Government and organisation that prevents the whole of humanity getting its ' daily bread '.

Direction of work cannot be managed without authority delegated to ' individuals '. But in all competitive business, authorities entrusted with jobs undertake them at their own risk of efficient performance of duties. Some are lucky and some unfortunate in their ventures ; they either rise or they fall, in credit and prosperity. All that the Power conferring the authority can do in the case of failure of subordinates is to remove them to positions more suitable to their capacities or, if they have been negligent or disloyal, relieve them altogether.

In the case of power to rule conceded to individuals as of Divine Right, there is evidently a risk of miscarriage of

objectives, for which nobody but God Himself can be held responsible. We have evidence of the inconvenience of this concession, which, while claiming Germany to be independent of the rest of the world, yet relies on its co-operation for Trade exchanges, in which the Almighty may be accounted wise enough not to meddle.

It is customary to pay individuals in proportion to the magnitude of the work they undertake, the temptations to which they are exposed, and the risks they run. But those who undertake risks without pointing out the defects of Systems under which they are called on to act fail in their responsibilities to get the defects remedied, if possible!

Exactly!! Possibility depends on the amount of inertia to be overcome. To hinder the action of current methods without replacing them simultaneously by others more efficient for the purpose, spells disaster.

Yet there are any number of meddlers ready to rush in and upset; while presenting no plans that could possibly come within the range of practical adoption without enormous risk !

To be called on to take office, under a known bad system, requires considerable self-confidence and to be well remunerated.

The responsibility for failure must be largely shared by those who sanctioned the system. The possibility of reform of the system depends on the absence of fear of the constituting authority, and his readiness to hear and help. Failure in these matters accounts for the constant shifting of personnel in the constitutional Government, till suitable

agency can be found for a workmanlike performance of the job in hand.

Many think rulers have simply to order, and others to obey, and all should go like clockwork. No greater mistake could be made.

Government is a matter of moving men's minds, not matter; while the matters we have to mind are those that practically *rule us*, and our governments as well.

The Government of Europe should be easy on popular lines. It could be managed on a Federal system like that of the United States of America, Empires being dissolved, and States protected from attack; but preserving their own form of administration.

With Europe united, one of the great causes of the world's unrest would be removed, and there would be time for the other continents to develop similar defensive federations; when trade and commerce would go on without let or hindrance, but under control of the Federal Governments.

J. F. DOWDEN.

Coonoor.

A SCHEME OF REFORMS

INDIA OFFICE.

THE Secretary of State, as before, will continue to be responsible to Parliament for Indian affairs, but I am of opinion that the India Council should be abolished. The Secretary of State will then occupy the same position as the other Secretaries of State who are individually responsible to the nation. His position will, however, have to be strengthened by the appointment of an additional permanent Under Secretary of State, which may be filled up by a competent Indian, and also by the creation of two more Assistant Under Secretaries of State, one of which should go to the Indian Civil Service and the other to an Indian, who may be either an official or a non-official. The abolition of the Council will deprive the Secretary of State of expert advice in financial matters which he has been hitherto accustomed to receive from the City Members, but steps should be taken to create an appointment of Financial Adviser to the Secretary of State who will perform the duties now being discharged by the City Members. With men like Sir Lionel Abrahams at his elbow I am doubtful whether the Secretary of State will need outside advice. As regards the India Office itself the creation of additional Secretaries, with a view to correspond to the Departments of the Government of India, will be a useful

measure of reform, to which men from India, either officials or non-officials, will be eligible for appointment.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Coming to the Government of India I am of opinion that His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council should be further expanded. I should like to see the maximum number fixed at ten consisting of four Indian Civil Servants, three Indians (two non-officials and one official), two Britishers from the United Kingdom and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. There should be a complete redistribution of portfolios on the following lines:—

- (1) Minister for the Interior.
- (2) Minister for Justice.
- (3) Minister for Revenue and Public Works.
- (4) Minister for Education and Local Self-Government.
- (5) Minister for Foreign and Political Department.
- (6) Minister for Law and Legislation.
- (7) Minister for Railways.
- (8) Minister for Commerce and Industry.
- (9) Minister for Finance.
- (10) Minister for Army and Marine.

My scheme involves the creation of three additional portfolios. Time has come when His Excellency the Viceroy should be relieved of direct charge of any department and will exercise only supreme powers as the King's representative in this country. An officer of the British Diplomatic Service or a senior officer of the Indian Political Department will fill this appointment with dignity

and resourcefulness. It may be remembered that Sir Mortimer Durand from the Indian Political Department became British Ambassador at Washington. An officer of eminence belonging to the Diplomatic Service if appointed will receive the best training for dealing with Asiatic problems.

As regards the portfolio for Justice, the present system, whereby the Home Member controls the Police and Justice, is unsatisfactory and has been the cause of complaint more than once in the past. Time has come when all High Courts, Chief Courts and Courts of Judicial Commissioners should be brought under a Ministry of Justice of the Government of India. The provincial Governments are gradually being given wide executive powers, and it follows that they ought to be relieved of the powers and patronage which they enjoy over the highest judicial tribunals in the provinces. At present the High Court of Bengal alone is under the Government of India, and the other High Courts should be brought into line with that without delay. Since the time of Sir Arundel Arundel the selection of Judges has caused criticisms and it is time when a definite policy should be laid down for the appointment of Judges to these Courts. The present policy, whereby the Chief Justice, the Home Member, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State settle these appointments, should be simplified, and the Viceroy should make the appointments in the name of the King on the advice of the Minister of Justice to whom it would be only an option either to consult the Chief Justice or the local Government.

As regards the portfolio for railways I cannot help feeling that the Railway Board has not proved a success. During Sir Fred. Upcott's time the Board was mainly run

by the Railway Member (Sir John Hewett and his successor). In Sir T. R. Wynne's time it was an one-man show, neither Mr. Wood nor Sir Stephen Finney exercising any very great influence on the Railway administration. I am of opinion that the old Secretariat system of administration with individual responsibility and initiative should be revived as it will be both efficient and economical.

As regards the appointment of three Indian Members, the portfolios to which they will be best suited are :- (1) Justice, (2) Education, and (3) Revenue and Public Works. Two of these three members will be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council for appointment by the Viceroy, and the other (an official) will be nominated by him. The Viceroy will have the right of veto, and the power to order fresh election without giving reasons. I have already indicated the urgent need for the reorganisation and redistribution of portfolios. From my experience I can state that Lord Curzon re-organised the portfolios more than once in consequence of the creation of the Railway Board and the Department of Commerce and Industry, and also in consequence of the re-organisation of the higher administration of the Indian Army under Kitchener's scheme. Lord Minto again carried out further re-organisations in consequence of the Education Department. But all these were half measures, and a committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be in the best position to recommend a complete and satisfactory redistribution. I remember the Hon'ble Mr. Achariar wanted to move a resolution in the Council on this subject but was disallowed by Lord Hardinge. Incidentally I may mention that the rules of business of the Government of India also call for re-examination and revision.

The scheme outlined above will throw considerable additional burden on the Government of India and may be rejected on financial grounds. I therefore propose to indicate places where financial relief may be sought:—

(1) The abolition of one of the Secretaries of the Political and Foreign Department.

(2) The abolition of the Railway Board.

(3) The abolition of the Educational Commissioner. (The present Assistant Secretary may be appointed Deputy Secretary for Education on, Rs. 1,700 per mensem.)

(4) The abolition of the Sanitary Commissioner. (The D.G.I.M.S., should be the ex-officio Sanitary Commissioner.)

(5) The abolition of the appointment of Inspector General of Forests. (The present Assistant Inspector General should be made an Under Secretary to the Department of Revenue and Agriculture and the Chief Conservators of Forests in all major provinces should enjoy the same powers and privileges as the Chief Conservators of Bombay and Madras. The Director of Forest Research Institute will act as the expert adviser to Government.)

(6) The abolition of the appointment of Director General of Archæology and the provincialization of archæological work. The Imperial Epigraphist may be attached to the Indian Museum.

(7) The abolition of the appointment of Commissioner, Northern India Salt Revenue, and the provincialization of the Department.

(8) The abolition of the appointment of Chief Inspector of Explosives, the duties being entrusted to an expert in explosives of the Ordnance Department.

(9) The abolition of the Board of Examiners, their work being entrusted to the provincial Universities.

My reason for the suggestion of strengthening the Government of India by the creation of new portfolios, with provincial autonomy in view, is my conviction that a strong and up-to-date central organisation will be required to watch and regulate the workings of autonomous provincial Governments in the making and the necessity of meeting the expansion of the Imperial Legislative Council by a corresponding expansion of the Executive Council.

IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Next in order comes the Imperial Legislative Council which should admit of further expansion and the maximum number may be fixed at 100 members to be distributed as follows :—

(a) Elected	...	...	...	45
(b) Officials (Nominated)	...	...	...	40
(c) Expert non-officials (Nominated)	...	...	...	5
(d) Expert officials (Nominated)	...	...	...	5
(e) Minority or unrepresented community representatives (Nominated)	...	...	...	5
				<hr/>
Total				... 100
				<hr/>

This will secure for the Council a clear non-official majority, and, in the light of past experience of such majorities under Minto-Morley reforms in provincial Councils, the system should work well and will dispense with the necessity of maintaining a standing official majority. This is a cautious line of advance without making any fundamental alteration in the character of the Council. Added to this will be the veto by the Viceroy as well as the veto of

the King if objection is taken to any measure, either legislative or administrative, within six months of its adoption. The function of the Legislative Council should be correspondingly enhanced on the following lines:—

(1) The Viceroy will be the ex-officio President of the Council.

(2) The Viceroy shall appoint the Vice-President either from his official or non-official members.

(3) The right of supplementary questions should be allowed on extended lines.

(4) The revision of the Council regulations shall be vested in the Council unless vetoed by the Viceroy.

(5) On requisition by not less than one-fourth of the members, a special meeting of the Council shall be convened by the Viceroy.

(6) A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in the Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government shall not be required.

(7) All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor General before they become law.

(8) All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills, and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(9) The term of office of members shall be five years.

(10) The matters mentioned herein below shall be under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

- (b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial relations.
- (c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue excepting tributes from Indian States.
- (d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor General in respect of Military charges for the defence of the country.
- (e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and custom duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.
- (f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

(11) A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council, provided, however, that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(12) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-fourth of the members present.

(13) The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill

shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

(14) The Imperial Legislative Council shall have power to discuss the military and foreign office estimates, but will be debarred from discussion of foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war and making of peace.

IMPERIAL SECRETARIAT.

Appropriately with the changes in the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Supreme Government, reforms in the Secretariat will be necessary. In the Secretariat, as at present constituted, there are only two Indians, holding positions of any responsibility, *viz.*, Mr. Aiyar in the Finance Department and Mr. Mitra in the Education. Mr. Gupta holds a technical appointment in the Legislative Department while Mr. Maula Buksh acts as an Attaché in the Foreign Office. The experiment of appointing Indians to responsible positions in the Secretariat may be claimed to have been a success. At all events it is necessary that the presentation of the Indian points of view will be a useful factor in the disposal of cases by high Secretariat officials, and a scheme may be devised for securing, for important departments such as Home, Commerce and Industry and Railways, competent Indians to begin with as Under or Deputy Secretaries, or at least as Attachés. The appointments of Registrars in the different Secretariat Departments may be abolished, as their function are more ornamental than useful. The present legal bar under the Government of India Act, whereby men outside the Indian

Civil Service cannot be appointed to high offices in the Secretariat (except with the permission of the Secretary of State), should be modified. While the majority of important offices in the Secretariat may be reserved for the I.C.S., the Viceroy should have the power of appointing any competent outsider to any appointment in a Secretariat without reference to the Secretary of State.

PROVINCES.

There should be no further attempt at territorial redistribution on any basis. The only question that should be kept in view is the position of the North-West Frontier Province and Assam. These two provinces will hardly admit of any territorial expansion in the near future and in consequence no modern improvements in the machinery of Government will be possible. It is, however, felt by men who can speak with authority that it will be a good move to re-annex the five settled districts of the Frontier Province to the Punjab and to place the Agency tracts and tribal areas under a second class Resident at Khyber, the one at Waziristan being utilised for the purpose. He will be under the direct control of the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Similarly the seven settled districts in Assam may be added to Bengal, the frontier and hill tracts being administered by a second class Resident working under the orders of the Government of India. This will result in a substantial saving in the cost of administration and will place the settled districts under up-to-date administrations.

COUNCIL GOVERNMENTS.

I am in entire agreement with the Hobhouse Commission that all major provinces should be administered by

Governors in Council, these high offices being open to the English statesmen as well as to the services of this country. In these provinces the Executive Council should consist of four members, two Europeans and two Indians. The Indians members may be ordinarily elected by the local Legislative Councils, but the Governor will have the right of veto and the power to order re-election without assigning any grounds.

The Chief Commissionership of Central Provinces and Berar may be raised to the status of Lieutenant Governorship in Council consisting of two members, one European and one Indian, the latter being elected by the local Legislative Council. It is impossible to extend similar treatment to Assam; the North-West Frontier Provinces may be considered altogether out of the question.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

The strength of the Provincial Legislative Councils should vary from 75 to 100, and the number from time to time will be fixed by notification by the Governor-General in Council. These Councils will be given an effective elected majority and the strength may be fixed at the following ratio, on the basis of 100 :—

Elected	...	...	55
Officials (Nominated)	...	...	30
Officials Experts (Nominated)	...	...	5
Non-official Experts (Nominated)	...	...	5
Nominated representatives of minority or unrepresented communities	...	...	5
Total			100

(1) The Governor will be the ex-officio President of the Council. He will also nominate a Vice-President from among either the official or non-official members.

(2) The members of the Council should be elected by the people on as broad a franchise as possible (the adoption of districts as territorial units may be the best method of securing that end).

(3) The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to members putting the original questions, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

(4) Except customs, post, telegraphs, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial—

(a) There should be no divided heads of revenue.

The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render revision necessary.

(b) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, to vote on budget including.

(c) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(d) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the executive Government

unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(e) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-fourth of the members present.

(5) Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-fourth of the members.

(6) A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

(7) Proposals to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation and other money bills, official or private, should be required to receive the administrative approval of the Governor-General in Council before introduction.

(8) All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor General.

(9) The term of office of the members shall be five years.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The reform of local self-government must be one of the most important of post-war reforms. The present system of external and internal control over district and municipal bodies is slowly getting out of date, and unless these institutions are freed from the Secretariat and other official control, the local self-government will never be a reality. Hence

the suggestion made by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt for the creation of local self-government Board deserves consideration. The creation of local self-government Board at provincial head quarters will be welcomed all over India. The Board should consist of three members (an official chairman to begin with and two elected members for major provinces; two will suffice for smaller ones). The present municipal and local self-government Secretariats may be utilised as the nucleus for the formation of the local self-government board. The Board shall have the services of the following officers as their chief inspectors :—

- (a) Provincial Sanitary Commissioner.
- (b) Assistant Director of Public Instruction. (For Primary education).
- (c) Superintendent of Civil Veterinary Department.
- (d) One of the Chief Engineers (for building and roads).
- (e) The Examiner of local funds accounts.
- (f) The Sanitary Engineer.

Any way this will be a good beginning without any additional expenditure. The Board shall have power to correspond direct with District Boards and Municipalities, and the District Boards in turn will control the local Boards and the local Boards will have under them the Panchayats and Village Unions. These bodies must be elected and elect their own chairmen. There will be, of course, some ex-officio members, such as the Civil Surgeon, District Engineer, the Deputy or Assistant. Inspector of Schools, and the Chaukidari Deputy Collector. The District Officer, however, will be given emergency powers to restrain the District and Municipal Boards from acting in a way prejudicial to public interests, and any emergency action taken

by him should be promptly notified to the Local Government Board for final orders.

PROVINCIAL SECRETARIAT.

The Provincial Secretariat should have a strong Indian element in its composition. The Madras Secretariat which has now one member, one Secretary, and one Under Secretary, may be taken as the model.

DIVISIONAL AREAS.

In order to meet the increased cost of the new reforms, financial relief will have to be sought by the abolition of some of the superfluous offices. In my humble opinion, with the passing out of control of local self-government from the hands of the Magistrate and Collector, the Commissioner and the Provincial Secretariat, their duties will be lightened. The Commissioners should now be given powers at present exercised by the Board of Revenue, which may be abolished. In Madras, Divisional Commissionerships should be created to replace the Board of Revenue and in the Provinces like the Punjab, Burma, Central Provinces, the Financial Commissionerships may be abolished and the power delegated to the Divisional Commissioners. A Divisional Commissioner should be made a more important factor in the administration and should be responsible for the proper administration of districts under his charge. Rightly or wrongly the Divisional Commissioner is now looked upon as a mere post office between the District Magistrate and the Secretariat.

THE SERVICES.

In spite of changing conditions the services will continue to administer the country and it therefore follows that they

will have to be partially nationalized. The late Mr. Gokhale was for dividing the public services into Security and Non-Security Services, and he felt that the ratio of Indians in the Security services should be made dependent on the political condition of the country. This is a view to which I strictly adhere.

SECURITY SERVICES.

(Indian Civil Service).

An attempt should be made to allot 33 per cent of the I.C.S. appointments to the Indians of which 25 per cent should be recruited by competition and the rest converted to listed appointments for the Provincial Civil Service. The present ratio is 9 per cent.

INDIAN POLICE.

The usual 33 per cent may be given to the Indians partly by competition in London or elsewhere as the decision may be, and partly by promotion of qualified Deputy Superintendents who by their education and social position are considered suitable for advancement to the higher ranks. Care should be taken in the selection of men who have risen from the ranks, as I know some instances where the incumbents have failed to maintain the dignity of their position, and discipline among their subordinates. The Indian Police Service does not enjoy sufficient public confidence, partly due to recruitment of indifferent candidates. I am of opinion that 17 per cent of the appointments may be thrown open to the officers of the Indian Army, and the remaining 50 per cent may be recruited by open competition. I know that contrary to the findings of the Public Services

Commission, the Indian opinion, both in the service and outside, is that the office of the Inspector General should invariably be held by an officer of the Indian Civil Service. The present ratio is 2·2 per cent.

INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

The usual 33 per cent may be Indian but in the scientific branch of it, such as bacteriology, sanitation and even jails, the bulk of the appointments should be held by Indians.

RAILWAYS.

The usual 33 per cent in the Railway Engineering and 50 per cent in the superior Railway traffic may be given to the Indians.

TELEGRAPHS.

The majority of the superior appointments should be held by technical men recruited in England and 33 per cent both in Engineering and in Traffic be given to the Indians.

NON-SECURITY SERVICES.

Indian Finance Department.

In the civil side the Indians have been given a fair trial and 33 per cent of the military finance should be recruited in India.

PUBLIC WORKS.

50 per cent should be recruited in India and 50 per cent in England.

POST OFFICE.

70 per cent of the appointments should be given to the Indians and 30 per cent recruited in England should form the war reserve for Field Post Office.

IMPERIAL FOREST SERVICE.

Only the scientific appointments and staff of the Forest Research Institute and College at Dehra Dun should be made in England, and the rest of the appointments should be thrown open to the post graduate students of the Dehra College.

IMPERIAL CUSTOMS SERVICE.

While recognising the importance of maintaining the European Staff for the benefit of European commerce, 50 per cent of the superior appointments may be recruited in India.

ECCLESIASTICAL SERVICE.

Steps should be taken gradually to reduce the strength of the service with a view to its eventual extinction. The best way to begin with is to ask the Chaplain General at the War Office to send out Chaplains with regiments when they are sent out for a tour of Indian Service. These Chaplains will come and go with their respective regiments.

THE EDUCATION SERVICE.

The present methods of recruitment for the graded service should be stopped and qualified Europeans appointed on suitable salaries, who will also be eligible for University Professorships, etc. The teaching section of the

service should be developed as a profession and not as a graded service. The ratio is 1·5 per cent.

IMPERIAL AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT.

High scientific appointments should be made in England and the rest of the service should be thrown open to the post graduate scholars of the Pusa Institute. They should have a course of foreign training and they should be sent to foreign countries as agricultural explorers, preliminary to their taking up appointment in India.

CIVIL VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

These appointments, with the exception of professorial staffs of Colleges, should be made from the Graduates of Indian Colleges.

INDIAN GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Fifty per cent of these appointments should be thrown open to the geological graduates of Indian Universities, but they should be made to undergo a training in Europe before taking up their appointments.

SURVEY OF INDIA.

This department is mainly manned by the Royal Engineers and the officers of the army. The military requirements should be fully met by reserving 70 per cent of the appointments for the Royal Engineers and officers of the Indian Army. The balance may be thrown open to the graduates of the Indian Engineering Colleges.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have announced that the accepted policy of the Home Government is the establishment of a responsible Government in India. Till now the Government of India have been responsible to the British Parliament only, but now the reform should be in the direction of localising responsibility in India, thus making the definite beginning of self Governments of India within the Empire. The Provincial Governments will be responsible to their Legislative Councils, and this will be secured by adopting a practice of election of two Indian members to the local Executive Council by the Legislative, who will resign in case they are unable to carry out the policy for which they have received mandates from the Council representing the province. As regard the I. C. S. members, they will hold offices at the King's pleasure. This will enable the Governor to reconstitute this part of his Council, the Civilian members retaining the option of reverting to their previous appointments. Under this scheme chances of any deadlock will be removed. The most difficult question will be the responsibility of the supreme government, but in case of any doubtful points arising the Viceroy in consultation with the Secretary of State will be the final deciding authority. Speaking generally the Government of India will be responsible to Indian Legislatures in all cases except military, foreign and high financial matters and questions of policy generally in regard to which they will continue to be responsible to the Parliament.

MUSINGS & COMMUNINGS.

“**T**HERE is a living reason in us which is something quite different from what we call reasoning. It is one with the living, and, therefore, creative Logos, which is the immanent intelligence in the universal life. Because of it, our sense of life, without us and in our conscious experience, has development along the lines of reality—that is of creative realization—freeing itself more and more from those mental interferences which refract its light in the soul, engendering ghostly terrors and phantom hopes... Spiritual ethics is disclosing a new perspective of positive values displacing merely negative virtues, and finding an inexplicable ideal—seeing that in a creative life there are grace, beauty and goodness, as there are flowers in the fields, for which no reason can be given, but with all divine reason in their spontaneous embodiments.” This is what is called “Transfigured Physiology” by a very thoughtful American writer. The Transfiguration takes place when God's Light is let in. But how is this end to be achieved? Can it profit the Man of the Hoe to talk of such Light? .

“ Slave of the wheel of labour, what to him
 Are Plato and the swing of the Pleiades?
 What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
 The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?”

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe, and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God ? ”

That is the question that all earthly powers should put to themselves, for, as surely as night follows day, there is to be an account taking.

Dr. Temple has said, “ The present ever gathers into itself the results of the past, transforms the human race into a colossal man.” And what a colossal man do we find now on earth ? Having given way, in the past, to various lusts and accepted various lies, he has not yet grasped the truth as to wherein wealth lies. “ *There is no wealth but life—life including all its power of love, of joy, of admiration.* That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings ; that man is richest who, having perfected the function of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.” This definition of wealth by Ruskin sank deep into the heart of William Morris. Has it sunk even superficially into our hearts ? Has our culture no fellowship with false prides, morbidities, abnormalities, superstitions and various diseases of the soul ? Are men and women together creating a living human experience, at once individual and social, in the life of which new truth is disclosed and, therefore, new liberation ? Are we not thralls still to formal propositions and generalizations making for no progressive knowledge ? The depths of a

mind (as of a maid) are worship and wonder ; how many have reached those depths ?

How many can even conceive

“ A deep below the deep,
And a height beyond the height,
Our hearing is not hearing,
And our seeing is not sight.”

“ Material environment is a factor in spiritual welfare,” for all except the very few who have been trained by a master to convert every suffering, every deformity, every defect, and even death itself into a source of strength. And what is our material environment ? The Sufis speak of three steps on the spiritual ladder : Tazkiyah Zahar, (تزكية ظاهري) Tasfiyah Batin, (تسوية باطني) Takhliyah Kalb, (تخليه قلبي), steps corresponding to the Catholic Mystic's Purgation, Illumination and Unitive Love. There must be purity of body, purity of mind, and the emptying of the heart of all that exclude God in order that it may be filled up with Him. But how can the body be kept pure when it cannot be even kept sound ? And how can it be kept sound from the Vyavaharik standpoint, when even its extremely moderate natural wants cannot be satisfied ? How can the depths of worship or wonder be even slightly stirred, when Hunger and Thirst are in sole possession ? It is one thing to be poor, quite another to starve.

Before Conscience was evolved, human life, like animal life and plant life, was a series of battles. But after Conscience was evolved, man had to decide between what the Upanishads call the *Preya* and the *Shreya*, between what was pleasant and attractive, and what was not pleasant or attractive but, in the long run, beneficial. He has been deciding wrongly, and hence his accumulated troubles. But

blessed are those who help even the victims of their own Karma.

"Impulse repeatedly indulged establishes a claim which silences the ordinary functions of self-control. Thus the final catastrophe is the result not of premeditation, but of a long series of impulses, in many cases heightened beyond restraint by alcoholic indulgence and wild lawless modes of life." Prostitution is said to be the culmination of such vitiated impulse and inward tension, but the impulse and the tension and the ravages of drink "beyond belief and beyond description" are, themselves, often due to stress of pain and want. Raise the economical coefficient, and you facilitate the concentration of energy even by such creatures. Soothe and steady their minds, win their gratitude, and, if possible, affection, and "one step gained leads to a firmer foothold." There will be "toppling falls, slides, loss of balance," and even "a complete smash at the bottom," but the firm, serious persevering, and the ascent, the moral recovery will eventually be achieved. "*The worst needs the best.*"

The State has been punishing, or alleviating, not preventing. Had it prevented the causes rather than punished or alleviated the results of following the *Preya*—the results of physical, intellectual and moral degeneracy—there would have been no need of a host of "biological engineers." They are now wanted for eliminating degenerates, for developing the latent industrial and moral power of the submerged, for reclaiming the life-power of the neglected scrap-heap of humanity, for draining the beds of social swamps, for re-working "the great culm-banks that the past generations piled up in mountains of waste at the mouths of a hundred mines of social activity," for doing away with

mal-adjustments, and effecting, in short, human conservation. They would have to take physical, medical and moral care of school-children. They would have to organise various campaigns, a campaign for the reduction of infant mortality, a campaign for the elimination of the feeble-minded, the redemption of the beggar and the tramp, the shiftless and the pariah, demoralized human wrecks, the inmates of slums, the victims of bad sanitary conditions and the armies of men and women ground down for quick profits and driven forth on the downward road that leads to sin and misery.

If men and women could only realize that there is a Nemesis, if they could also realize that there is an after-life, that while material riches can never accompany us there, spiritual riches do, that there is an Unseen world around us and the more we waste our time in selfish pursuits, the less fitted we become for the society of the best in that world, what a host of selfless workers, of true "biological engineers" would be forthcoming in every walk of life! Bigotry and intolerance would then hide their diminished heads, title-hunters and place-hunters, parasites and sycophants would find their occupation gone, religion would become a uniter not a divider, the colour-bar, the caste-bar, the pelf-bar would be things of the past, disabilities imposed on the weak would vanish into thin air, and the whole of our environment and our outlook would be vastly improved. Above all the status of women would be quite different from what it is now, and there would be a change in heredity, a change in home nurture, a change in the penetralia of family life, a change for the better throughout in creative evolution.

The potency of woman is almost limitless. "In art and literature—chiefly in poetry and romance—she has been the central theme." She is "the source of charm and wonder, and often the centre of worldly agitations and storms and of the fiercest feuds and rivalries...It is her plasticity that has developed the nobler qualities of manly strength, for protection of the weak, for tender concern, for disinterested compassion. This quality, even more than the helplessness of infancy, because it lasts through the whole of woman's life, has promoted civilization itself and uplifted it. Woman's protection of her offspring is a natural passion, an instinct. Man's care for woman is a culture. "We can neither practise the concentration of our energy nor raise the economical co-efficient, without the help of woman, and as, according to the late Sir William Ramsay, material human progress consists in these two, such progress is not possible without her co-operation. Nor indeed is any other kind of progress possible.

There are scientific men who say that the male is a mere after-thought of nature—a variation of the original female sex. It is said the female constitutes the man's trunk, descending unchanged from the asexual or pre-sexual condition, and that the male element was added at a certain stage for the sole purpose of securing a crushing of ancestral strains and the consequent variation and higher development. The male goes off on to side-tracks, he often flies off at a tangent and his vagaries often end in evolutionary *cul-de-sacs*. Professor Ward, therefore, thinks woman has been made the guardian of hereditary qualities, and the balance-wheel of the whole machinery of life. "Females," says he, "represent the centre of gravity of the biological system. They are the stubborn power of permanency of

which Goethe speaks." Their instincts of mother-love, of self-sacrifice, of pity, are divine, and yet they have been treated as inferior to man, as shallow poor-brained weak vessels. Well does Mr. Havelock Ellis say in his "Man and Woman" that "the history of opinion regarding cerebral sexual difference forms a painful page in scientific annals," that it is full of prejudices, assumptions, fallacies, over-hasty generalisations," and that "apart from the functions immediately concerned in the procreative processes, the sex difference is not qualitative but environmental."

Læna of Attica bore the severest torture without a word. Telesilla, the poetess, made the Argotic women fearless of death, and discomfited the Spartans. Theodora saved the Eastern Empire, Artemisia drank the ashes of her consort, Camilla Queen of the Volscians was slain fighting at the head of her troops, Boadicea encountered the veterans of Rome, the Maid of Orleans drove the English from France, Arria stabbed herself to encourage her husband to die: 'See, it does not hurt, dear Pætus,' she said. The Mahabharata, and our later poets and the Historian of Rajasthan and our Persian and Arab histories tell us of many a noble-minded woman in the East who did not fall short of the qualities of her heroic sisters in the West. And yet there are few nations who have not as disgraceful proverbs about women as the well known Italian:

A woman, a dog and a walnut tree, .

The more you whack 'em the better they be.!!!

Every injustice contains within itself the seeds of its own punishment, and injustice to women, like injustice to weak nations, has not gone unpunished. Consider

merely what Hysteria means. Oppenheim says it has suppressed the word 'impossible' from pathology, and other medical writers say that this psychosis is a nursery of surprises and miracles. The hysterical patient loves to deceive those around her, and, miserable herself, she makes her family miserable. Sometimes this disease ends in insanity, and even if it does not, the children suffer, for the emotional disorder leads, as Osler says, "to perversion of mental, sensory, motor and secretory functions." Cowardly assaults, fright, grief, traumata in childhood, privations, longings, are among the causes of Hysteria, and pallid personalities, stagnant existences, pastels of women in costumes of rose and velvet, gauze hiding moral invertebracy, "æsthetic insults to motherhood," are among the effects.

Then we have amiable saints, "looking less for blossom than for blight" who create a nagging air, and, then, sitting desolate in dark corners, dissect themselves, but deftly absolving themselves, turn each fault into some holy attribute. "Haven't I thrown blossoms of tenderness by the bushel at this curmudgeon's foot, and hasn't he trodden them down and muddied them?" So they play the uplifted part, though living all day dislocated. So they turn on a pivot toward their own jarring ego, even when they are purring and lapping. Battle-worn and biting, they sprinkle little sense on the domestic pottage. They are seldom fragrant feather-beds and they make a hash of matrimony, paying back man for his wrongs to woman.

A thoroughly neurotic woman is "a bundle of tingling and jangled nerves." Whatever you do or say, the woman takes wrong, she makes your words mean something entirely different from what you intended, and has the worst possible

interpretation of your most casual acts. And all the time she suffers intensely, poor dear.] [She knows that she is wounding you, but she is still more wounding herself. She would give worlds not to be so perverse and irritating, but she can not help herself. She wants you to be most generous and tolerant to her, but she cannot be generous or tolerant to you. She says, I love you, in a tone which almost suggests that she hates you, and she asks fifty times a day whether you love her, and is always wholly dissatisfied with your reply.

It is dreadful. For the fact is—so far as there can be any fact in such a tangle of morbid fancies—that the poor woman is leading an inner life of her own, which is totally unrelated to external data. The representation in her mind of what occurs is wholly distorted, because she views every thing in reference to herself, and she is full of sick imaginings.... Her mind is a mirror, either concave or convex, which now exaggerates and now belittles. It never pictures anything truly and correctly.' All this may also be said of *men* belonging to oppressed nationalities. The fault is the oppressor's, not the oppressed's, and a time always comes when old scores are paid off. Millions of sightless axles are spinning, and are weaving every second not only our winding-sheets and cradles, but the meticulous minutiae Nemesis delights in. As we sow so we reap, a truth ignored alas not only by individuals, but even by great States.

A RECLUSE.

IN THE TRACK OF THE CLIPPERS.

A record of a voyage from England to the East by way of the old silk and tea ships' route may not be without a certain *intérêt d'occasion*. Singularly uneventful, it was also singularly pleasant. The great steamers of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, following the lead of the Netherlands boats, had just adopted the Cape route for their sailings between London and Japan, when the writer's passage was booked on S. S. *Katori Maru* for Yokohama. She lay, like a black castle with towering white upper works, on the muddy waters of the Thames on a certain afternoon in March. Passengers from distant towns were delayed by snow and railway breakdowns; but the last stray sheep was folded as the sun declined, and the *Katori* slipped down the sombre river. There were times when one lay listening to the soft thrill of the vast engines with an uneasy consciousness of drifting mines. But nothing untoward happened: the nearest sign of war was the sight of British submarines. Through the crowded channel, across the Bay of Biscay (rippling like a mill-pond in a June breeze), and into the steamy equatorial zone, went the *Katori Maru*. To new travellers the equator seemed a weird region. Less hot than oppressive, its chief feature was the heavy belt of solemn clouds hanging motionless on the horizon. There was a thickness in the sky and the air, and a dullness on the sea. Even the flying-

fishes seemed in their sudden flights to accentuate the prevailing calm. It reminded us of the Ancient Mariner, and, at the same time, of washing-day. The atmosphere of steam and vapour, of grey and livid hues, made us reflect that we had strayed into the world's laundry, where the winds are cleansed and purged.

One was not sorry to reach Cape Town, after a night of magnificent sunset over a sea in which porpoises sported by the hundred, bewildering graceful shoals in the gilded water. The moon hung over the Peak and Bay as we looked out in the early morning. Later, the whole of the passengers, after three weeks afloat, hastened ashore, to be driven from the docks to the town in scratch conveyances of more or less inviting appearance. Cape Town is, indeed, well worth visiting. For all its "drum and trumpet" history, life is taken easily and pleasantly there. Every face smiles agreeably, every passer-by is ready to help the visitor on his way: handsome, substantial buildings line the well-kept streets. There is an air of comfort and easy well-being in Cape Town which irresistibly appeals to the jaded European. Not that Cape Town is sleepy: on the contrary. She is building a stately and delicately beautiful Cathedral: she has a splendid post office, banks, and all the apparatus of modern life; and a fine tramway system, that takes you in a few short moments to that loveliest of shores where the twelve Apostles loom over the beach and the blue water, and over all the sun shines approvingly.

But we cannot linger at Cape Town; we weigh anchor with regret and steam out into the night. The succeeding few days proved to be the only portion of the eight weeks' voyage that could be called rough. Even so, the passengers who failed to do their duty by the ship's cook were few

indeed. His greatest triumph, a glorified trifle clad in a veil of spun sugar—(or shall we accord the palm to a Hecla of ice-cream blazing with authentic flames issuing from the summit ?)—received the tribute of a gratified saloon. But the *Katori* did move a little—a very little—off the Cape. And it was an agreeable change from the placid way in which her vast bulk generally neglected the call of the waves. She brought us, with no more incident than a violent thunderstorn, safely to Durban.

Cape Town is leisurely Dutch, historic. Durban is new, British, bustling. Built on a narrow strip of land between a large, calm bay, circular and nearly landlocked, on the one side, and the deep Indian Ocean on the other, the town is not unpicturesque, and is the scene of much activity and growth. Here the Indian makes his appearance, with his cochineal and his sequins. But he does not draw the *jinrikshas*: These are left to the Caffre: a powerful creature who flies at an amazing pace with the big two seated machines. He is clad mostly in an imposing pair of ox-horns, and is an energetic and willing worker. A long road straggles from the clean, well-kept docks to the thriving town where the usual nucleus of fine buildings is springing up. It is characteristic of Durban's energetic growth that the handsome Town Hall of a few years ago is the mere Post-office of to-day.

Out to sea again, and past the smiling shores of French Réunion close enough to see the little locomotive puffing its way along the sea-shore beneath the sugar-fields, and to note the waterfalls, the houses and the miniature Capital, St. Denis. And as we steam away, suddenly there reveals itself, far up above the island, it would seem, the summit of the central mountain, perfectly proportioned and majestic as

an Alp. Mauritius is sighted later in the day—a dark mass of pointed peaks. And here we just escape a cyclone. But before Réunion we had a view of surely one of the most remarkable sights in the world :—the south-eastern coast of Madagascar.

Tangled and tumbled, like a fragment of the Moon, or a scene-painter's impossible dream, the serried wildness of jagged mountains stretches for hundreds of miles. Untenanted it would seem : hardly a column of thin smoke rises to tell us of wild occupants, scanty as savage. At one point a little peninsula carries a lighthouse and the flag of France :—more isolated than Skerryvore or Inistrahull ; a scrap of civilization hanging to the outskirts of a region where some wizard seems to have fixed an eerie throne in the midst of a riot of distorted crags and peaks. A beautiful, wonderful country : virgin—savage ;—free from the stain of war, of massacre, of persecution ;—of prisons, workhouses and factories, — without memories or resentments, except of the universal pangs of Nature. More entrancingly fantastic scenery there can scarcely be on this globe. Certainly none such has ever been depicted. As we left that enchanted coast, past which we had steamed the whole day, in the red glamour of the most gorgeous sunset (but one) of our journey we felt that whatever we might see strange and curious, nothing could be more strange or curious than this.

“ I see Jerusalem and Madagascar,” as the ballad has it.

After that a coral island was tame.

Who has not wanted a coral island ? What child has not dreamt itself out of the worries of increasingly responsible existence, into the happy island of romance, where all

things go properly and as the adorable child would have them? Where the bad are satisfactorily rewarded according to their works, and the right party is always in power, and cream and sweets are staples of dinner, and Beauty rules, instead of Experience? And here were coral islands in plenty—to be precise, the Chagos Archipelago: and, nearest, Diego Garcia. The fringed palms waved as Whittier pictured them—the savannas stretched to the northward, all ready for the Swiss Family Robinson,—the surf broke in thunder outside the lagoon: the picture was complete. But there is a coaling station in the Happy Isles, and the Orient steamers call (or called) there on the voyage to Australia. Romance, I am afraid, is dead in spite of pathetic protestations to the contrary. For it is not romantic for MacAndrew to go into a screw-shaft and hammer—though I am not denying it may be dangerous.

And now we are approaching Singapore; that Clapham junction of the tropic seas. The stately Straits of Sunda are veiled in rain and mist, when we make Acheen Head, and it is only fleeting glimpses of their high coasts that one can gather from the *Katori's* decks. But rain gives way to sunshine in the morning. We pass the island studded water-way that leads to Singapore, in the finest weather, and drink in all the beauty of the scene. At Singapore itself we are introduced to China: Indian cochineal and bangles are again to the fore as well: surely it is one of the most museum-like of cities! The warmth is not excessive and no mosquitoes venture on board at night, though we had been warned they could make the state-rooms intolerable. At Singapore the ship's company suffers a sea change. The popular heir-apparent of Sarawak and his princess leave us: gone also are the kindly English,

Scots and Irish people from Kuala Lampor and Perang, the cultured Japanese Fujiwara, and the pet of the vessel, the Chinese lady of one year old, Paik Gan. So we voyage in a minor key to Hong Kong; meeting far more ships (we had spoken singularly few hitherto) but feeling that our floating world had been considerably revised.

Hong Kong, with the Peak overshadowing it, has an outward resemblance to Cape Town. Moreover, it is solidly and even splendidly built; considerably surpassing Singapore in this respect, so far as a hurried voyager can tell. The splendid view seawards from the summit of the Peak has been described too often to be repeated here. Waiving that privilege one may still say that Hong Kong, with its multitude of shipping, its clock-work ferry-services to Kowloon, its clean, bright streets, and its lovely setting, impresses the traveller as a thoroughly prosperous and desirable place. We are not quite sure whether to believe the story of the casual tiger in the Governor's back garden.

Here in the East, one comes back to bygone days of naval architecture, when ships were ships indeed, and not glorified barges. The modern steamer, since the twentieth century came in, has been a blunt, stumpy thing, with one uncompromising upright funnel, and thick, stumpy props for masts. I do not say this out of any fanatical admiration for the ancient sailing ship. Her extreme complication of cordage and lines was tedious. But the graceful liners of the *America* type, with clipper stems, delicate raking masts, raking funnels and low deck-houses, were ship—shape and a joy to the eye. I well remember the shock of seeing at Greenock one of the new type that has replaced them;—a stiff array of derricks on a magnified packing case, she appeared! And funnels

have gone black. The absorption of smaller lines by one or two black-funnelled companies has made colour almost a thing of the past. But here is the China Sea, the warm red funnel is plenty (as the Americans say), and even the snowy white is seen: whilst the rakish masts and yacht like lines are as frequent as heart can wish. The *Nippon Maru* is so beautiful that her owners call her the "Queen of the Pacific," and the *Sakaki Maru*, which rushes you up from Shanghai to Dairen to join the South Manchurian Railway, is a smaller, but worthy, rival.

Between Hong Kong and Shanghai half way up the Formosa Channel, the thermometer dropped in a short forenoon some ten to twenty degrees Fahrenheit. Yet it was not cold at Shanghai, but pleasantly summer-like. We passed through the Chusan Archipelago—an unending string of bold, brown rocks, seemingly stretched out to bar the steamer's track: the water changed from blue to brown and next morning we were in the delta of the Yang-tse-kiang and feeling our way to Shanghai. Without the natural beauty of Hong Kong the city has the same aspect of splendour and vigorous life. Austrian and German flags float, in a startling fashion, from their Consulates and marooned ships for, of course, China is a neutral country. The shops on the Bund are duly visited; the Chinese town inspected; the original "willow pattern" lake and bridge traversed; whilst in the company of the kindest of new acquaintances we are introduced to the pretty gardens of the Japanese Club, and are shown the white, graceful Catholic Cathedral, Li Hung Chang's memorial (used as a College), and in fact *le tout Changhaï*. It is a city where the European would, one fancies, soon feel himself at home.

And now the long voyage is nearly over, and in three or four days we shall see the coasts of Japan, and make the lights of Kobe. Is it out of place to put on record a word of gratitude to the Captain and crew who have brought us so pleasantly and safely, half way round the globe in these days of war? Kindly and seamanlike to a man, they have done their very best for us : and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha may well be proud of them. As for the *Katori Maru* herself, it is the pleasantest of recollections that will gather round her name and grateful remembrance of how she carried us tremulous travellers without a qualm for fifteen thousand watery miles.

Tokio.

T. BATY.

SOCIAL SERVICE AS A LINK BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

THE question suggested for to-day's discussion at our last meeting was "Social Service as a means of bringing East and West together."

We have pretty ancient authority for saying that two things equal to a third are equal among themselves. If Europeans and Indians can be persuaded to give of their best, in the domains of thought and feeling, on behalf of a third party, they are bound to be brought together under the happiest circumstances of mutual understanding. Social Service is rather a wide phrase. I am not sure to what exact extent members may take its meaning. The Discussion will soon show us. I fancy I shall be doing my share if I take it to include three forms of philanthropy :

First, interest in educational establishments, especially the schools of the poor.

Secondly, interest in hospitals or in the cause of the sick.

Thirdly, house to house visitation as far as this is at present possible.

I. And first with regard to schools. Education is the universal cry. All Indians seems agreed upon it. The

Government certainly has given public proof of sympathy with the project.

It seems therefore a good platform on which to assemble together. If the members would permit me I should like to make my position clear on this point. I belong to that historic Church which has secured for the West all that is sublime and beautiful in human thought. That gives me some claim not to be suspected of hostility to the advancement of learning. On the other hand, I should apply to this subject the dictum of Horace, "est modus in rebus"—there is a way of doing things. Every Indian capable and desirous of it, should have, I think, ample opportunity and every encouragement to reach the highest intellectual attainments, but I am convinced it is unwise to force the pace of education beyond the capacities of the population at large, and beyond their opportunities. There is a healthy enthusiasm for education which is apt to forget that you can over-educate a Community unless you have at hand an environment to fit the education. When I visited Madras a few years ago the porter who wheeled my luggage along the platform was a B. A. of the University. We know, of course, that the West could also produce an example of hood and gown being thrown aside for the humblest employments by men who have fallen from their high estate through temperamental defects. But this Madras graduate had not fallen. He was only waiting an opportunity to rise in the Railway Service. He is a type of the danger I have in mind when I refer to educating people beyond their opportunities. An obvious retort is that as education advances Government should enlarge the opportunities of Indians. That is a question we may leave to Statesmen and Politicians. All I wish to make clear, as we are on the

topic of education, is that I should not like to be identified with any scheme that would forcibly advance education beyond the realities of life in the case of the general population.

Having thus put myself right with you on this matter I may say we are all agreed that every section of the community has the unquestionable right to be educated to such an extent as to be able to express in writing its thoughts, feelings and affairs, and to read the expressed thoughts and feelings of others, as well as to conduct with intelligence their various avocations in life. That means the education of the multitude, and the multitude means the humbler and poorer part of society. Here we find the common ground where East and West can meet together to better the intellectual lot of those around them. As a good man who is rich is led by an instinct of nature to give to the deserving man who is poor, so we who have the advantages of education cannot help desiring to share them with those who are less fortunate. In what ways can we do this ?

(a) First by showing practical interest in the schools within our sphere of influence ; (b) by making monetary contributions, if we can, towards their support ; (c) by giving prizes for proficiency in useful subjects and, last and most important of all, by personal service of any kind possible to ourselves and acceptable by the schools. Money and prizes are good, but personal sympathy or visits are more precious than gold, for material gifts are symbols only, our real heart and soul go out when there is personal sympathy practically shown.

It seems superfluous to say that men and women engaged in furthering a common altruistic good of this nature

are bound to become united together in bonds of mutual understanding. A common object, when a noble and disinterested one, breeds respect for each other and leads to a deeper appreciation of points of agreement and a more tolerant view of mutual differences.

II. East and West will come together still more easily if they descend to the basic needs of human nature. The intellectual wants of a community often leave a man cold—the sight of the sick, the aged, the wounded soldiers in the battle of life is a thing that appeals to everyone. After all, as we cannot too often repeat, we are all men and women and man and woman throughout the world are specifically the same : There is the same physiological construction enshrining the same immortal soul. At our last meeting what Mrs. Saraojaini Naidu said about woman was perfectly true, only of course, it is exactly as true of men as of women, *viz.*, that we are all essentially one and the same, our differences being only superficial.

Now at all times and in all places and among all peoples the infirm make an irresistible appeal to our sympathies. How can this sympathy, practically shown, bring East and West together ?

The European, one is bound to confess, is a great nomad in India. Of him, above all men in the world, perhaps it is true to say : “Here we have no lasting city.” Here to-day, he is elsewhere tomorrow by no volition of his own, so that work beyond his regular duty is bound to be temporary and fitful. Still as long as he is posted to a place he does his best to make himself at home. In the same way he can take and show interest in the persons and institutions around him. If some Indians of standing in the

neighbourhood would take the initiative and give him to understand that his co-operation would be valued much might be done. There would be failures, of course, but preserverance would ensure success. In the presence of the sick-bed Indian and European would soon realise their common brotherhood. Pain causes the same emotions ; disease brings on the same depression ; convalescence creates the same hopes. They would understand that, however, superficially different, however separated by customs and religion, there was a fundamental identity that made them all sons of one common Father who is in heaven.

III. Finally, there is a question, at once a golden opportunity and a serious problem, of house to house visitation.

On this practice in the West one may say that the whole fabric of social service has been built. Naturally, the philanthropic workers must establish a compact of a mutual exchange of visits before they can unite in a combined effort to cheer their poorer neighbours. But this exchange already exists. We ourselves are not the only Europeans and Indians who meet together, confer together, visit each other and accept mutual hospitality. It is done in most parts of India, on an extremely limited scale may be, still it is done. Mrs. Mukerji has advised her Western sister to approach the purdah lady through the purdah lady's enlightened sister. I would like to borrow that word "enlightened," Well, why not get the enlightened Indians to increase their number so that uniting with Europeans of good will they might go forth together to cheer the home of the poor and humble. It would be affectation to ignore the difficulties of the situation. The principal obstacles

arise from Indian customs. If an Indian really and seriously thinks that my shadow would pollute his food he would not thank me for desecrating by my vile presence the sacred sanctuary of his home.

On the other hand the habit of visiting the houses of the poor and establishing friendly relations with them is not a natural instinct even with the Westerner. It is an acquired taste. But granting that such visits were acceptable to the humbler member of society and were agreed upon by Europeans and Indians in any city, town or village, they would undoubtedly foster an understanding that would be as creditable to the givers as it would be advantageous to the receivers.

And while the philanthropists themselves would be brought together in mutual understanding, not theirs alone would be the excellent results. For, their social services would be the means of laying a sure foundation of gratitude and affection that are the best security of union in the hearts of little children, in the hearts of the infirm and afflicted and in the hearts of the poor who in India, as in all other countries, form the majority of the population.

✱ ANSELM,
ARCHBISHOP OF SIMLA.

30th September 1917.
Simla.

EAST & WEST.

WELL MET !

[Speaking at a banquet given in Bombay by the Ruling Princes of India to H. H. the Maharajah of Bikanir on his appointment to represent them at the Imperial War Council, the Maharajah said:—"My countrymen have stood shoulder to shoulder with our British and Colonial brethren ...they gladly grasp the hand of friendship and comradeship extended to them.]

Long ago in Himalayan highways
 Roamed the yak and the buffalo,
Side by side where mysterious byeways
 Spanned the rivulet's overflow ;
But they quarrelled, so they were parted,
 Thus the yak in the hills remains,
While the buffalo, heavy hearted,
 Seeks for his playmate thro' the plains ;
And up to the snowy mountain-summits
 Turn the horns of the buffalo ;
While the yak's grow down with peering
 Into the misty plain below.

Thus it was in mid-Aryan ages
 Britain and Hindustan did roam,
Mother of both was a comely matron
 Milking kine in an Aryan home ;
Now after centuries of silence
 Family counsels claim the twain,
Hindustan from her proud Himālayas
 Smiles into Britain's face again !
East and West will acclaim this meeting,
 Out of a past she will ne'er forget
Britain renders her royal greeting :—
 “ *Long lost cousins, you are well met !* ”

K. F. STUART.

ABOUT HORSES.

Whilst discussing horse-breeding in India an officer of some 30 years' experience gave his opinion that all the thorough-bred blood imported into India had been a failure in so far as it shewed itself in the *country-bred*, which was just the same to-day, as it was thirty years ago, that he did not think the English thorough-bred was suited to India.

Let us not forget the Arab horse is a thorough-bred of even older leniage than his English brother, and, what is of importance, he is indigenous to Asia.

Before condemning the utility of importing the English thorough-bred into India, we must guard against throw-backs to inferior strains, which the mere distribution of through-bred sires over the country does not guard against.

Heroic and intelligent measures to entirely eliminate cross fertilisation, by all undesirable stock, must as a first measure be effected by gelding all inferior animals in the district.

Bearing in mind the practical example of Germany's taxation of the *beet-root*, when this industry was first started in that country, and the great source of wealth, direct and indirect, this special form of excise brought, not only to the German farmers, but also to the revenues of the

German Government, I would suggest the advisability of taxing all unlicensed stallions over a suitably large area, say, in the Division of Meerut, United Provinces, where the Government have already done much to encourage horse-breeding and for the education of the Indian public to the value of good stock. In this connection it would be first necessary to provide in each village within the said area sufficient stud arabs to serve gratis all local requirements, at the same time putting on a prohibitive tax not only on every unlicensed entire in the said area, but also on every entire entering the prescribed area even temporarily.

Our Asiatic brother, in spite of his many good qualities, is often lamentably deficient in those which govern the successful breeding of animals and plants. There are exceptions in some parts of India in respect to horned cattle, where sufficient incentive existed locally to develop special traits.

Where there are not sufficient incentives, legislation in the matter is not only called for, but justified, in the interests of the farmers as well as in the revenue of the Government.

People directly affected by such taxation would at first no doubt complain as much as did the German beet farmers when their young industry was saddled by the *beet-root-tax*; but, what of it?

In sixteen years, supposing every undesirable sire had been removed from the proposed area, the lay mind might be led to suppose that to all intents and purposes, the progeny of those that remained to breed from would have become Arab.

But even this measure would have been far from effecting such a desirable object, although it would have gone a long way towards improving the breed. The reason of this is not far to find.

There is a second factor, which it appears, Indian breeders in the past have greatly ignored, and that factor is:

MENDAL'S LAW.

In the light of the law the necessity of spading all undesirable throw-back progeny of both sexes bred under the above circumstances should be borne in mind.

The breeding of *Pusa Wheat* has established in this country beyond all cavil, the now recognised truth of *Mendal's Law*. Mendal claimed it not only for plants, but for animals as well.

It is then possible, in theory, to breed in India from imported sires, true-bred Arab, or English mares. But, the naturally slow growth of horses, as compared with wheat, offers a serious practical handicap for such research. Nevertheless nature seems here to have done something to make up for this drawback, by allowing certain colours to indicate *recessive and dominant individuals*. For example, the pure coloured chestnut horse will always breed true.

We have no horse breeders in this country properly speaking, in the sense that there are in Europe, owing to the want of strong enough inducements, such as the national interest in horse racing we see at home, that has done so much to build up the English thorough-bred stock.

Would it not be a great feather in the cap of any of our Agricultural Institutes in India, if they were able to give a practical demonstration in course of time by breeding, say,

only a dozen true-bred Arab mares from Arab and country-bred stock ? I would, however, recommend any sportsman intending to try this experiment on a small scale in India to work on only thorough-bred, English and Arab stock.

The experiment will be tedious and costly, at the same time the use of thorough-bred English mares will not only greatly facilitate the problem itself, but with an eye to racing, the necessary elimination of unstable dominant offspring will be compensated for by their profitable sale, as they should all fetch high prices for racing and hunting

Let us hope the wiping out of the Turkish Empire may lead to the breaking down of the present jealously guarded monopoly in thorough-bred Arab mares.

R. R. & COURT, BEADON.

JANE AUSTEN AND WAR.

IN a mood of depression such as must now and again occur to every one of us during the ebb and flow of this strenuous struggle, I happened to take up a volume of Jane Austen and was led to re-read her stories with greater pleasure than on their first perusal. They were like a back-water after stormy seas, an ever placid lake broken by no real tempest. The chronicle is of trivialities, of events scarcely so important as most of us encounter in our daily experience made charming, nay fascinating, by the admirable art of the narrator. In the curious world of her creation petty incidents assume the importance of great events. When Louisa Musgrave falls from the steep flight of steps at Lyme Regis, she faints, and no doubt she sustained some hurt, yet the accident is not of a terrible character, the young lady is not mortally injured, she speedily recovers her health and spirits, yet it is treated as an epoch-stirring event, as it is in this world of Lilliput, also our authoress succeeds in making her readers regard it in this light. Tennyson but voiced the general sentiment of the true Austenite, when on a visit to Lyme the place appeared to him memorable as the theatre of part of "*Persuasion*." "Don't talk to me of the Duke of Monmouth," he said, "shew me the spot where Louise Musgrave fell." Many eminent

critics have said all there is to say on the merits of Jane Austen, her wise and rigid limitation of the field wherein she worked, "the little bit of ivory," to use her own expression, over which she toiled; how she gained in intent what she lost in extent, how admirably she drew her middle class characters, how easy and yet piquant the flow of her narrative. They tell us she recognized her limitations, but this implies that she consciously turned aside from larger fields. In such she had no interest. Her scope was her own class, the cultivated, leisurely, comfortable English middle class; to those above and below them she was profoundly indifferent. Her characters possess too, ample means and leisure, her parsons are never concerned about the spiritual welfare of their flocks, her sailors are never actually sailing and still less are her soldiers ever fighting. Was her picture of the middle class England of her time a true one? Her novels are all of contemporary life. Was it really so undisturbed, even in the quiet places of England, as she would have us believe? We cannot tell till the present war be over, indeed till it be over some time so that we can gain the effect of distance, how it stands comparison with other great epochs of our history. Yet Jane Austen's life coincided with a period when England went in peril of her very existence as a nation. To the men of that time, indeed to ourselves a couple of years ago, the wars of the French Revolution seemed the most important of any we had witnessed. Our authoress was born in 1775, she began to write to real purpose in 1796, also she worked at her art more or less diligently up to March 1817, she died on the 24th July of that year. The year 1796 (her beginning) was the year of Napoleon's campaign in Italy; the battle of the Nile was two years afterwards; in 1803 the

'army of England' for the invasion of our shores was assembled at Boulogne, in 1805 Austerlitz was fought and Trafalgar won; in 1812 there was the Moscow expedition; the year after brought about the fall of Napoleon; in 1815 the battle of Waterloo ended the war cycle. Was there any educated family in England which these events did not affect? in which they did not form a subject of frequent conversation? Well, you are sure there is no such household in England at present, it was not so then if these novels are really faithful and complete pictures of contemporary life. Moreover, Jane Austen had peculiar personal interest in the struggle; she had two brothers in the Royal Navy, they both rose to be admirals and died, one at a very advanced age after years of active service. Now to Jane Austen her own family was all in all, *the* great centre of interest, the rest of the world little or nothing, but the events of her brothers' lives for this very reason were vital to her, surely the facts of the war vital through them. They were in contact with great events and historic figures; one of them just missed Trafalgar, in the course of his duty he made reports to Nelson, yet in her volumes there is no reference to the mighty events going on in the outer world, the cannon do not rumble even in the distance. Look at the works, in detail. In *Pride and Prejudice* there are a good many military officers but they are in the militia and only prominent as lovers of young ladies. Wickham having failed to secure a comfortable benefice turns militia officer, a transformation which seems to the writer natural and proper. After his marriage to Lydia Bennett he is in continual difficulties through his own extravagance and that of his wife, a commission in the regular army is purchased for him, he is obviously never engaged

in active service and the chronicle of the inestimable couple is thus concluded, "their manner of living even when the Restoration of Peace dismissed them to a home was unsettled in the extreme." In *Sense and Sensibility* we have Colonel Brandon, an excellent, even chivalrous figure, but except for this title he has nothing military about him. Though he competes with Edward Ferrars for the position of hero we are not even told his first name, we do know that he is thirty-five, is afflicted with rheumatism and wears a flannel waistcoat. Edward ingenuously confesses that he has no profession, his desire is for the church but that his friends think is not smart enough, they urge the army, that he considers too smart, the law he cannot abide. "I was therefore entered at Oxford and have been properly idle ever since." Jane Austen placidly accepts existing conditions. You would believe that she thought her world was the best of all possible worlds, save a flash of insight here and there, and an ever present sense of irony gives you pause. This is not a general criticism of the novels, otherwise there were much to say. Thus, the scene where Mrs. John Dashwood persuades her husband to break the deathbed promise given to his father, and make no allowance to his half-sisters, probes the depth of human meanness as skilfully as anything in Balzac, also the character of Mrs. Jennings, shrewd, vulgar, kindly, active, tactless, is a masterpiece of truth and humour. In *Northanger Abbey* General Tilney, the father of the hero, is again a soldier only by his title. Catherine Moreland says of Henry Tilney that she likes him the better for being a clergyman "for she must confess herself very partial to the profession," so was the authoress; for she makes it the calling of most of her heroes who are, you note, better at dancing and hunting

than preaching. The reason is an obvious family one, she was brought up in a parsonage, also many of her relatives were clergymen, but she could draw the parson's seamy side—as witness—Mr. Elton in *Emma* and Mr. Collins in *Pride and Prejudice*. The portrait of the latter is a favourite with all Austenites for its perfect excellence. Jane was partial to the Navy, her soldiers are often satirically touched off, but this is never so with her sailors. Nothing can be said against them save that they are never actually in action. I can make no useful remark about *Emma*. In Mansfield Park the writer almost touches on contemporary history. William the brother of Fanny Price, the heroine, is a charming picture of a boy midddy, and just as admirable though of a different kind is the portrait of their father, the dissipated retired naval officer at Portsmouth. We even get some glimpse of William's ship the 'Thrush' and hear of his longing for an action with a superior force and his dreams of prize-money, an object which to Jane's naval heroes always loomed more largely than victory or indeed any other theme in the war. In *Persuasion* there is the portrait of Admiral Croft, clear cut and vivid. "He is a Real-Admiral of the White, he was in the Trafalgar action and has been in the East Indies since, he has been stationed there I believe for several years." We have also a discussion between Sir Walter Elliot and his agent Mr. Shepherd, in which the position of naval officers is set forth entirely from the social point of view. Of Captain Wentworth we are told that he was sure of a ship and expected to make money by prizes, for war is to those gentlemen merely a happy hunting ground. Of its miseries and its effects on the world, of the lot of the common sailors, no single one of whom is introduced in any capacity, there is not a word. As regards the two fragments

known as *Lady Susan* and *The Watsons*, only this need be said. In the first there are no naval or military characters, in the second the military are mere lay figures. Reasons may be suggested why the folk of the time, especially in rural England, were not so affected by *their* great struggle as we are by *ours*.

News travelled slowly for there were no steamships trains or telegraphs; newspapers were few small and dear whilst their matter was of the scantiest; the fact was old when it came to hand, and so lacked vivid interest. Yet after every deduction I think the novels in this respect do not give us a complete account of the life of the middle classes. There must have been more talk of war topics than here appears, the old military and naval officers never in these pages fight their battles o'er again, yet what old officer would fail to do so? By instinct or through lack of interest or of set purpose she turned away from great events. Her theme was the still life of England with the parsonage and the hall for its centres. Before her mind there was always present the church with its little God's-acre, the result of long years of peace and slow ordered growth. These things were to her everlasting as the seas and the stars, part of the eternal fitness of things. Yet of that England which was in the very roots of her being she knew but a small part—Kent Surrey, Hampshire, a good deal of Bath, something of London a touch of Oxford, that is the whole locus of her life and works. She was never abroad nor ever desired to go; there is no scheme of travel through England. Though never rich she was yet comfortably well off. Scotland and Ireland did not appear even in her dreams. The first country is scarcely mentioned, and the second very little. Her interest in the well-to-do middle class was exclusive, but that is of

necessity the most commonplace and humdrum of all classes. Its members lack the excitement and variety which come from great means and great positions, whilst they also lack the variety of incident which follows from the continual battle with poverty. Now Jane Austen as the daughter of a village clergyman was brought into close relation with labourers and peasants and the motley village crowd. What an interesting field of observation! How many quaint and curious phases of character must have passed before her! We know she did her duty as a parson's daughter, but she took no interests, human or literary, in all those dim shadows which she might have fixed for our instruction and amusement. When a person with marked characteristics comes within her appointed ken, especially if those characteristics are not of the best, we have a life-like picture touched with cynical humour, I need but name Mrs. Bennett, Mrs. Norris, Mrs. Jennings ; you regret that no peasant, no village character is portrayed not even the village idiot !

One thinks of the rustics and country, folk of Scott, George Eliot and Hardy, of the London types of Dickens, above all of the world that lies in the works of Shakespeare. But we have no right to complain. "Wisdom is justified of her children." Jane Austen is quite good enough as she is.

I turn to the letters as confirming the truth of what I have said. They are not voluminous, it is certain that most she wrote have perished, those we possess are with few exceptions addressed to her sister Cassandra who was a little older than herself and survived her. Jane must have often written to her sailor brothers, to her nieces, to her friends, but except Cassandra no one thought of storing up material that would one day be precious; and even Cassandra destroyed a good many, still enough material is left to

enable us to judge Jane Austen as a letter writer and to throw a searching sidelight on her character. A critic so eminent as the late Sir Leslie Stephen whilst an admirer of her novels has condemned the letters as trivial and unimportant. Trivial in one sense they certainly are, there are frequent talks of balls and much of dress, very little of books, only a word or two about her own works in which she took a reasonably strong but not excessive interest. They are long, usually over a thousand words, the writing is easy, sometimes cynical or even caustic, and yet they make very agreeable reading. The same power to make trifling events interesting by the way in which they are described appears here, just as it does in the novels. There is a frequent mention of the sailor brothers and of their ships, but scarce anything of the war in which they were engaged ; nay, there is scarce any reference to contemporary events. As one of the two sisters has become an English classic, as the other was not her inferior in general intelligence, one would have expected here at least reference to the topics of the day and especially the world of that epoch. You may explain its absence from the novels by artistic reasons, but the same plea cannot be urged in the case of familiar letters. The rare topical remarks are curious. " I wish Sir John Moore," she says, " had united something of the Christian with the hero in his death, thank Heavens ! we have had no one to care for particularly among the troops—no one in fact nearer to us than Sir John himself." Again, referring to Southey's *Life of Nelson*, she complains, " I am so tired of Lives of Nelson lately that I never read any, I will read this however if Frank is mentioned in it (Frank is one of her seamen brothers)." There is another reference to a battle, conjectured to be Albuera, where there was excessive slaughter, she hugs herself at the thought that no one

in any way connected with her is among the slain. There is a curious impersonal touch in those references as if such things were of a world in which she had no concern, she has an occasional literary reform. She never had any doubt who wrote *Waverley* whereon she thus comments. "Walter Scott has no business to write novels, especially good ones. It is not fair, he has fame and profit enough as a poet and should not be taking the bread out of the mouths of other people. I do not like him, I do not mean to like *Waverley* if I can help it but I fear I must." In writing of her acquaintances the cynical touch is so strong as to be not altogether pleasant, "Mrs Poulett was at once expensively and nakedly dressed," may pass very well, but you admit the two following with some reserve. On the death of a friend with whom the family were acquainted she comments. "Why he died, or of what complaint, or to what nobleman he bequeathed his four daughters in marriage, we have not heard." She accounts for the death of a lady, who was in a weak state after the birth of a child, by saying that she had caught sight unexpectedly of her husband's face! After all, those letters were not meant for publication, Miss Austen was surprised and delighted at the fame her works brought her in the last years of her short life, but she never dreamed of the great future that lay before them, least of all did she imagine that her letters would be collected by us who live a century after her death. I might multiply those quotations, for the letters are full of lively touches which will bear transplanting, but I have said enough to illustrate that phase of her writing and character with which I have commenced, and to give a glimpse into the consciousness of this singular and peculiar genius.

FRANCIS WATT.

KOKILA.

(Indian Tune.)

Go, go, go, O Kokila, warble not so nigh.
 Do not break my heart O Kokila,
 Sing not love in tones so high,
 Raise no storms of feelings, Kokila,
 Make me heave no sigh,

Go, go, go, O Kokila, warble not so nigh.
 Memories mild of bees and blossoms
 In thy lays all gathered lie,
 Roses have but thorns, O Kokila,
 Dipped in saddest dye,

Go, go, go, O Kokila, warble not so nigh
 Moon-lit memories wake not Kokila,
 Far the moon that soothed my eye,
 In my heart crowd clouds of sorrow,
 All 's a moonless sky,

Go, go, go, O Kokila, warble not so nigh.

RAM CHANDRA.

Benares.

SOME THOUGHTS ON LOVE.

"In peace, Love tunes the shepherd's reed;
 In war, he mounts the warrior's steed;
 In halls, in gay attire is seen;
 In hamlets, dances on the green.
 Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
 And men below, and saints above;
 For Love is heaven, and heaven is love."

(Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.)

The flame of love is aglow in every heart. Everyone is a lover. Some love power, some fame, some wealth. Some espouse the Muses; some adore human beings; some are centred in themselves. There are many who love more than one of these; and everyone loves himself.

Love is the ruling passion. It is at the root of all human activities. Our hopes, our fears, our desires, our aspirations, are all governed, inhibited and directed by our loves and hates. The character of a man may best be inferred from the nature of the object he loves and hates. Our attractions, and repulsions our likes and dislikes, the objects of our love and hate determine the course of our conduct.

It is because Love plays so important a part in the formation of one's motives and in the determination of one's course of action, that it should be most carefully watched and

regulated. There is also another reason why vigilance must be exercised to make this passion flow in proper channels. Love is inborn; it is one of the first affections of the human heart. One must love some object or other; and if one does not love virtue, one must love vice. Corrupted love is the cause of all the evil in the world. Some, like Midas, love the yellow glittering gold, and for them the whole world is contained in that mystic four-lettered word;—these are misers and thieves. A murderer has probably confined his love to his own personality; but he is a faithless lover, for by committing a murder he, to say the least, imperils his own existence.

There are five progressive stages in the evolution of love. The first stage is *self-love*; this is born with us and persists through the whole of our life. The instinct of self-preservation is present in every living being and is the touchstone of good and evil. Whatever contributes to the preservation of the individual is taken to be good; every thing that jeopardises it is considered to be evil. This love of life is independent of misery and unhappiness. The rich and the poor, the destitute and the opulent love themselves alike. We love life itself. There may be no pleasure in living; still we are ready to lay down our lives to live. One would sooner sacrifice everything than die. Goldsmith has truly said, "Age, that lessens the enjoyment of life, increases our desire of living Our caution increases as our years increase, fear becomes at last the ruling passion of the mind; and the small remainder of life is taken up in useless efforts to keep off our end, or provide for a continued existence." But self-love, when it oversteps certain bounds degenerates into selfishness.

The second stage may be called individual or *personal love*; at this stage man learns to love other persons. There are four steps within this stage: *filial* love, *contiguous* love, *conjugal* love and *parental* love. When a child is born, it is imbued with the instinct of self-preservation; and consequent upon this instinct it begins to love its mother, father and nurse, for they minister to its wants and comforts. Everyone knows how difficult it is to part a child from its mother. This is *filial love*. As the child grows up and its knowledge extends, it begins to bear affection to its brothers sisters, relatives, neighbours and the servant or servants who look after it. This is *contiguous* love. Later on he marries; and *conjugal* love develops in him. Then he has children and *parental* affection springs up.

The third stage in the evolution of love is *social love*. Its beginnings are to be traced to contiguous love, which has been mentioned above. When a boy joins a school, he contracts friendships with his class-fellows; and his chief desire is that his be the school to stand first in games and in examinations.

At a still later stage of his life when his mental horizon has been sufficiently widened, he becomes interested in the customs and religious rites observed by his parents, in his community and in his town. This is termed local patriotism. Then gradually he learns to love his religion and his country. Patriotism is the acme of social love, which itself is based on individual love. Patriotism is not a simple affection. It is the bundle of all our feelings and all our attachments. Our country it is, which contains most of what we love best on earth—our home, our parents and relatives, our friends and acquaintances, scenes of our early associations, and what not

When a man enters his village or town after living abroad for years together, his eyes are touched with tears of joy. And as he sees his school, the houses of his playmates, the field which he used to promenade with boyish independence, and as the fond memories of his juvenile days come back to his mind in rapid succession, the buoyancy of youth returns to him and he longs to begin his life over again. At first we love a society, a town, or a country because it contains objects we have learnt to love at the individual stage. But a time comes when the society, the town, or the country is loved for its own sake. The growth of social love is more rapid among country people than among townspeople, and in smaller countries than in larger ones.

The fourth stage may be called philanthropy or human love, love towards every man irrespective of race or creed or colour. This love is rarer than patriotism and should always be preceded by it. Though it is true that only

“Small souls enquire, belongs this man
To our race, or class or clan?
But larger-hearted men embrace
As brothers all the human race.”

yet what would one think of an Indian going to France to preach against the evils of self-imposed celibacy, while the marriage systems of India require so much reformation, or of another going out to America to disseminate the doctrines of Vedantism while the true realisation of it is so badly needed at home. Philanthropy is bound to develop as there grows a better and fuller understanding between the different sections of humanity and as the means of communication improve.

The next and last stage in the evolution of love is Divine love.' This is the stage at which one regards every man, every animal, every object as sacred. At this stage the devotee reaches the consummation of his desires and aspirations ; there is perfect bliss and unruffled calmness and beatitude; and the communion with God is complete. At this point there is no distinction between friend and foe, for, indeed there is no friend or foe, all being regarded as alike. This universal and divine love cannot be realised unless all the preceding stages have been passed through. The Scripture says, " If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen ? " It is only by passing through human loves and human sufferings that divine love is reached and realised. This is in reality the place of personal love in the economy of human life, as Wordsworth says :—

"Learn by a mortal yearning to ascend
Seeking a higher object :—Love was given,
Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for that end;
For this the passion to excess was driven—
That self might be annulled; her bondage prove
The fetters of a dream, opposed to love."

When the sting of anguish penetrates the heart of man; when gloom and loneliness and desertions cloud the soul of friendship and trust, then it is that the heart turns towards the sheltering love of the Eternal, and finds rest in silent peace. And whosoever has passed the stage of loves that are perishable like the forms to which they cling, and has attained the stainless, selfless love, that is imperishable, and does not cling to appearances, he it is who enters

into communion with the spirit of infinite joy, and is placed beyond the reach of sorrow, suffering and disappointment.

The first stage of self-love is reached by the meanest creature; the second form of love is practised by every good and dutiful member of a family; the third stage is attained by statesmen, reformers and patriots; and the last two stages are reserved only for sages and prophets. Each of these stages in the evolution of love depends upon the preceding ones for its development; and the strengthening of love at each stage strengthens and involves the love at the previous stages.

Three laws may be noted regarding the development of love. The first is that love in its purity is never exclusive. This means that the love of one object does not preclude us from loving others. At the first blush, this may appear contrary to ascertained facts and prevalent views, for who has not heard of the jealousy and rivalry among lovers, with the tales of which the poetry and fiction of every language is replete. But the love in which there can be rivalry is not pure, altruistic love but is a mere selfish passion. Maeterlinck has rightly observed, "If the shafts of envy can wound and draw blood, it is only because we ourselves have shafts that we wish to throw; if treachery can wring a groan from us, we must be disloyal ourselves. Only those weapons can wound the soul that it has not yet sacrificed on the altar of Love."

Then it may be noticed that the development of love lies in its expansion, that love does not increase but expands. If a person loves an object, he loves it and cannot love it more or less ardently, for love does not admit of degree. If

he wants to nurture this sentiment, he must let it expand and begin to love other objects. The one peculiarity of love is its expansibility; with the exercise of altruism it expands, so that the outgoing of the heart, which, at one time was towards a limited few, swells and swells till at last a single vibration of love, thrilling in the deepest depths of human hearts, sweeps through space to affect the whole humanity.

The third law of the development of love is this : Love becomes corrupt if not allowed to expand. And this is the law which, though it is working under our very eyes and is the cause of all the evil in the world, is recognised by few. All the culprits are dwarfed lovers ; they have stinted the growth or expansion of their love. Every thief loves himself and his family but does not allow his love to proceed further, hence his love becomes vitiated and he is led on to crime. It is dwarfed or circumscribed love, love of a limited few, that drives men to guilt and the gallows. If one loves his neighbour as himself, how can he steal his property or lie to him or bear enmity against his person. In order that it can embrace a very wide view of humanity, our love should always be lodged on the highest peak we can attain.

We have so far shirked the question of motive. It has often been asked, ' Can there be any motive in love ? ' The question has been variously answered. Some say that love is blind, and cannot be accounted for, that it is not based on mature thinking or cogent reasoning but is the spontaneous flow of sympathy and affection towards some object. Every other love, they say, is selfishness. There are others, who are of opinion that every human action must be guided by reason and consequently love devoid of

motive is folly. There is also a third group, which includes the modern matter-of-fact men; they combine the views of the first two groups and condemn love itself. They admit that true love has no motive; they also assert that all our actions should be guided by reason; and from these premises they argue that purposeful love is not love but business, which may be profitable if conducted with skill and care, while love shorn of reason or motive should be avoided and guarded against as altogether beneath the dignity of rational beings. Now the right answer to the question partakes of all these three views. We agree with the first school of thought and allow that true love cannot have any carnal or sensuous motives behind it; we also subscribe to the second opinion that human actions should not be guided by mere blind impulse; and by concurring so far with the first two views we also agree with the third. A perfect lover need not be a perfect logician. Love seldom reflects; often indeed it needs no reflection; no search into self to enjoy what is best in thought but, none the less, all that is best in love is closely akin to all that is best in thought.

Is it not a sufficient motive to love an object, that it is the best possible attitude towards it. Love of all mankind and indeed of all animals is to be advocated simply because the standpoint of love is the best and the healthiest standpoint for understanding them or association with them. *This is the rationale of love.*

The word love has been freely used throughout this article, but it has not been indicated in what love consists. "Love is the perfection of consciousness," says Sir Rabin-dranath Tagore. Love is happiness. Love is bliss. Of all

forms that our stream of consciousness can assume, of all our feelings and emotions, love is the noblest and the purest, which brings us nearest to man and God. Love is not a simple emotion; it is a sentiment. Its main feature is sympathy. If two persons love each other, then if one be happy and the other knows it, he will also imbibe the feeling; they will have similar emotions. And because if two men love each other, they will have sorrow and happiness together, each of them will try to mitigate the grief and increase the happiness of the other, both for his own sake and also for the sake of his friend. Therefore, love means intense faith, adoration and felicity ; it consists in forgiveness, fellowship, goodwill, charity, confidence, devotion, esteem and sacrifice. Love is the opposite of hate, cruelty, envy, pride and misanthropic indifference.

Your anger may cool down, the spirit of revenge may be appeased, wonder may disappear, hatred and envy may be removed by removing their object ; but love is unchangeable and immutable. Its pulsations never grow faint, and its warmth never grows less. This is the one test of true love, as Shakespeare has put it in one of his sonnets :—

“ Love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove :
O, no ! it is an ever-fixed mark,
That looks on tempests and is never shaken ;
It is the star to every wandering bark,
Whose worth's unknown, although his height be
taken.
Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and
cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come :
Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom.”

This is not all. "The edge of doom" is not the edge of true love. It continues and passes on to the life after death. Southey has described it in his inimitable lines :—

" They sin who tell love can die ;
With life all other passions fly,
All others are but vanity.
In Heaven ambition cannot dwell,
Nor avarice in the vaults of Hell :
Earthly these passions, as of Earth,
They perish where they have their birth.
But Love is indestructible ;
Its holy flame for ever burneth,
From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth."

All along in the course of these pages we have been urging an indiscriminate and unqualified love towards all living beings ; but many think it problematic if not impossible that everything can be loved. Before coming to this point, it would be better to devote a few words to show how love is generated. Roughly speaking, there are three ways in which love originates. The first is *spontaneous* love due to the attraction of the object itself. Objects ostensibly beautiful, *e. g.*, the rose, obtrude themselves on the attention of the observers and elicit their admiration and sometimes even esteem. Esteem and admiration generate love. Those who possess a beautiful figure, prepossessing appearance and engaging deportment often succeed in eliciting such love. Then love may be *induced* or reciprocal. Love begets love, just as hate begets hate. There is also a third way in which love can be evoked. When the beauty of an object is not on the surface and is gradually revealed

through study and familiarity, the object by and by comes to be liked, valued and loved. This is the way in which deep and lasting friendships are generally formed.

Now we approach the crucial question whether one can possibly love the whole of humanity, whether the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God can ever be realised. No one feels any difficulty in loving a beautiful face, a nice picture, pleasing scenery, a charming thought, a melodious voice, in short, any lovely object. Sunrise at sea, flowers in a garden, stars shining over a stately forest, the river by moonlight, all breathe a charm and a romance, that intoxicates the brain and sends a thrill through all our being. The feeling of the sublime is a fact. A peacock attracts our sight but not a crow. A deer is loveable but not a boar. The cawing of a jackdaw is repulsive, but the song of a canary is inviting. It is only the beautiful and the good that are loved. But is there any thing that has not an element of beauty and goodness in it? Is there any thing, that is absolute ugliness and absolute vice? On closer examination it will be found that there is nothing so hideous. Go deep enough, there is beauty everywhere. Nothing is too ugly to be loved. The darkest cloud has a silver lining. The plainest face, the most barren rock, the hoarsest crow, the hardest sinner have all got beauty of their own, which can be studied, appreciated and loved. The assassin will tell you, 'I murder, it is true, but at least I am not a thief.' And he who has stolen steals, but does not betray; and he who betrays would at least not betray his brother. The member of a gang of robbers is loyal to his own brotherhood, and would rather die than expose it. And thus does each one possess some fragments of spiritual beauty.

All these objects have been created and loved by God ; and the lesson of loving the unlovely can be learnt from Him. Loving the unlovely was the practice of all Prophets ; numerous examples can be cited from their lives to prove it. It is said that Buddha had the love of a mother for the whole humanity. His tender heart felt for all. There are many incidents of his life which bespeak the great love which he bore towards the sinners. Buddha in his wanderings arrived at the outskirts of a certain town in which there resided a courtesan by name Ambapali, who had amassed large wealth by the sinful course of her life. Perhaps she was beautiful ; but her life was inglorious. She preceded the king and his courtiers to the place where Buddha was staying, and respectfully asked him to accept her hospitality. Buddha understood the feelings of her heart, and at once accepted the proffered invitation. Just after this interview the King and the rich people of the town came with their offers ; but Buddha's word had been given, and he went and stayed with Ambapali. The result was that she was converted and became a pious woman.

Everyone knows a number of persons, whom he is unable to love, the very mention of whose names excites his anger. Perhaps he is not able to find any beauty in them. If such be the case, let him love them for his own benefit. It is sad to love and be unloved, but sadder still to be unable to love.... To grow more loving and loveable should be the highest aim of all.

“ He prayeth best, who loveth best,
All things, both great and small ;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all. ”

When love is not allowed this wide range, and given this altruistic and sacred import, but is confined to a chosen few, love becomes an instinct, a flickering and fitful flame, uncertain, ephemeral, to be lit by passing pleasures and extinguished by passing pains ; burning stronger and longer in some natures, dying out quickly in others, and, by reaction, leaving behind more strong the foul smell and smoke and darkness of hate.

Lahore.

PEARAY MOHAN DATTATRYA.

THE SIKH MORNING PRAYER

Of Action's Realm the attribute
 Is energy, active throughout,
 Here mighty heroes, lords of war,
 With Rámá's prowess filled, abide.

Here also many Sitas dwell,
 With beauty crowned and grandeur-girt,
 They in whose hearts the Lord abides
 Are by decay and death untouched.

In Action's Realm are also found
 Communities of devotees,
 Who are with gladness always filled,
 For in their hearts the True One dwells.

The Formless in the Realm of Truth
 Doth dwell, and on its denizens
 With eyes of kindness and of love
 Looks on, and fills them all with joy.

Here regions, worlds and orbs exist,
 Which none can count and none describe,
 Forms upon forms and worlds on worlds,
 Fulfilling each its destined end.

He contemplating on HIS works
 Exulteth in HIS pow'r and might:
 As hard as iron is the task
 Of telling what HIS doings are.

Behold my workshop's continence,
 My goldsmith perseverance is,
 My anvil is intelligence,
 My working tools the sacred Veds.

Fear is my bellows, and the heat
 Of penances, my fire is,
 Love is the crucible in which
 I melted have this nectar sweet.

Thus, in the true mint I have made
 These hymns in praise of HIM, the Lord:
 Such blessed work falls to the lot
 Of those to whom HE gracious is.

THE LAST SLOKA.

Of living things, behold, the wind
 The guru is: their mother earth,
 Their father water: night and day
 The nurse maids on whose lap they play

Deeds, good and bad, before HIS throne
 Are by the King of death rehearsed:
 By their own actions some get near,
 And some stay far away from HIM.

Who meditate upon HIS Name,
 From labours freed repair to HIM:
 Their faces, Nānak, shine: through them
 Salvation other people gain.

THE END.

IN ALL LANDS.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE agrees with Dr. Wilson that the permanent peace of the world will not be assured until the shrine of militarism at Potsdam is shattered and its high priests are dispersed. Perhaps this means that the Kaiser must be captured and deported like Napoleon. Two conditions are said to be necessary before this object can be attained—Russia must recover, and America must get ready. America will undoubtedly get ready before next spring, and Mr. Lloyd George is not without hopes that Russia will recover. But when she will, even Kerensky does not seem to know. The future of the war will perhaps depend upon the forthcoming exchange of views at the Peace Conference of the Allies. Mr. Lloyd George has told his nation to wait, for waiting is winning, and to practise economy, so that the savings may be lent for war.

* *

Winter is approaching and the operations in the most important theatres of the war will temporarily be slackened. Owing to the military collapse of Russia for the time being, the Allies on the west were not able to accomplish what they expected in the current year. The British and the French armies have shown their superiority in artillery and aircraft, and their victories during the year are said to have secured sufficient elbow room for the vast armies

to be put into the field when America sends her men to Europe. This is the summing up of the year's results from the American point of view. The British and the French count the number of guns and men captured, and contrast the deterioration in the morale of the German army with the daring and skill of their own soldiers. They will now wait for more American comrades.



Russia on the other hand presents a sad spectacle.

In Russia.

The islands of Oesel and Dago are in German hands ; the Russian navy has barely escaped destruction and withdrawn into the Gulf of Finland. Whatever may happen to it, it is not expected to save Petrograd. The Government has decided to remove the capital to Moscow, and the dismantling of factories, banks, public buildings, and all that constitutes the glory of a capital has proceeded apace. Railway service is said to be precarious for lack of fuel. Strikes and riots appear to indicate a temporary economic breakdown of the country. Kerensky is almost as stout-hearted and sanguine as Mr. Lloyd George. A few would apparently propose terms of peace which may not affect Russia, but would be a humiliation to America as well as the European Allies.



From time to time we are informed of peace terms pro-

In Turkey.

posed by one or another well-meaning personage, but not the responsible belligerents. As a rule nothing is said about Turkey in these proposals. Perhaps it is taken for granted that if Germany is to get back her colonies, Turkey must also recover her lost territory. Someone has proposed the

neutralisation of the Suez and Panama Canals. Turkey seems to have joined Germany in the hope of recovering the suzerainty of Egypt. She may in the end become a province of Germany, if the Allies do not win and safeguard the independence of the weaker States. The Kaiser has visited Constantinople, for the present with the object, probably, of stimulating activities in the warmer climates during winter.



Preparations for war on a vast scale are said to be made in America. It is doubted by many whether they are in view of a single contingency. The Kaiser said threateningly to Mr. Gerard that he would deal with America after the close of the war in Europe, and attempts were made to set up Mexico and Japan against the United States. A conflict with Japan is one of the contingencies which Dr. Wilson may be unwilling to dismiss from his mind. A special mission was recently sent from Japan to the United States to dispel possible misgivings, and probably some understanding on disputed questions was arrived at. Apart from liberty to settle on the Pacific coast, the Japanese are not known to covet much that America can give.



It is claimed for science, and not without justification, that it has interlinked all parts of the world and prepared the way for the Parliament of Man. Mr. Lloyd George remarked the other day that the best brains have for some years past been engaged in improving the means of destruction, and if the present war does not end war, it is difficult

Science and Peace.

to say what science may not invent during the next thirty years for the extinguishment of civilisation. During the war larger and larger submarines and aeroplanes have been built and the best brains are employed in perfecting methods of warfare. Zeppelins are constantly hovering over peaceful towns in England, and reprisals on a large scale on German towns are contemplated by the Allies. Submarine life cannot be popular and may give rise to naval mutinies. These are suppressed.



Nothing is nearer to the heart of the British nation than victory in the present war. Never **England and India.** theless in a world-wide Empire events occur which divert the attention of at least a few statesmen. The leaders of all parties in Parliament were agreed on the policy of the British Government in India, as announced by Mr. Montagu. That does not ensure peace. At the instance of the European community in India, the British press has been compelled to discuss whether the present time is suitable to introduce, or even to consider, constitutional changes of a far-reaching character, whether Mr. Montagu's or Lord Chelmsford's policy towards political agitation is in harmony with the opinions of Local Governments, and whether the whole of India supports the demands of a few. Is it not too late now to defer discussion until after the war ?



Our political institutions must be built upon existing foundations. We cannot borrow an **British Ideas.** exact copy of what other countries have adopted. Nevertheless the British Parliament would naturally like to introduce certain leading

British ideas into India. One of them is the system of two legislative assemblies. In our legislative councils the elected members represent one assembly; the official and nominated members the other. When the councils are enlarged to the extent recommended by the Congress and the Muslim League, it will be asked why an Upper House may not be instituted as in the Colonies. The utility of two legislative chambers is no doubt a debated question. Nevertheless they exist in democratic countries, and India is certainly not the most democratic country in the world. British statesmen may demand time to discuss such points.

* * *

The Dewan of Mysore has already spoken on the forthcoming reforms in British India. In his **Mysore Opinion.** Dasarah speech he referred to Mr. Montagu's enquiry and gave several weighty reasons why the Indian States are entitled to be heard on that occasion. In his opinion the States ought to be represented in the Legislative Councils of British India, if these are to be invested with powers which will more or less directly affect the States. Then the question will be whether the representatives of the States ought to be accommodated in a Second Chamber, or may be included in the existing Councils. Probably the zamindars of British India would like to sit with the representatives of the protected States in a separate assembly.

* * *

In British India itself the social structure of the population is very different from what it is in the British Colonies. In South Africa the powers of the white legislators are specially restricted in dealing with problems which affect the coloured races. In India religious

Communal Representation.

and social differences make the problem of representation much more complicated than in the Colonies. The National Congress sought for a long time to ignore the special interests of any communities, but was at last obliged to surrender to the Muslim League, and their joint scheme provides for a minimum representation through special electorates to Mahomedans. The Non-Brahmans in Southern India, the Depressed Classes, the Jains, the Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans—all these will demand special representation.

* * *

The difficulties of devising a satisfactory system of representation vary from province to province, and therefore a uniform system is not likely to be adopted for the whole of India. In Madras the dominance of Brahmans in the public service and the legislative council gave rise to the Non-Brahman movement, which is represented by two Associations. These differ on certain questions, but agree in demanding adequate representation to Non-Brahman communities. In Bombay as well as Madras the Depressed Classes have demanded special representation. Their case is more difficult to deal with than that of the more advanced communities. They are so backward in education that they can scarcely be expected to return elected members of their own community. At present they are led by high caste men.

* * *

Europeans and Anglo-Indians are passing resolutions all over the country, deprecating the consideration of highly controversial questions during the war and demanding adequate safeguards for their own interests. If Mahomedans

Dumb Millions.

The Minorities.

have special interests, it cannot be said that Europeans have none. This is not denied by the Congress and the Muslim League, for in their joint scheme it is conceded that "adequate provision is to be made for the representation of important minorities by election," and that if three-fourths of the members of any community in any Legislative Council oppose a Bill, clause, or resolution, on the ground that it affects them, the proposal must be dropped. It is easy in this way to provide against the contingency of the majority overriding the will of the minorities where the latter are exclusively affected. But where all are equally affected, it stands to reason that the majority must prevail.

* * *

Europeans in India blame Mr. Montagu and the Government of India for releasing Mrs. Besant and allowing a dangerous agitation. The danger is not where they see it. Mrs. Besant can address only educated and intelligent audiences, and although in certain provinces the educated community has supplied political enthusiasts, it is not the preaching of Europeans like her that has produced them. Anarchist activities began in India before she took to Indian politics. If one studies the reports of public meetings in the newspapers of southern India, one may notice that Home Rule resolutions are passed in small towns and villages, where the unsophisticated people brought together can know little about the subject. Home Rule is explained to them by some one and they are alleged to support the resolution placed before them. What will be the consequence of stirring up ignorant masses? Study the history of Russia.

**Agitation and
Intelligence.**

In Lord Morley's time Indian political thinkers were divided into three, or four, classes—conservatives, moderates, extremists, and anarchists. Those who were satisfied for the time being with things as they were attracted no notice. Lord Morley spoke of rallying the moderates lest they should be swept away into the ranks of the extremists. Many Europeans in India seem to think that notwithstanding the Morley-Minto concessions, the moderates, if they have not become extremists, are at least unable to assert themselves and they sit on the fence. Several lessons may be derived from the phenomenon. It has been said in the European section of the press that the plainest lesson to be learnt is that Indians are deficient in strength of character and in the capacity to govern. The inference is rather hasty.



Though Lord Morley's authority gave currency for a time to a couple of catch-words, the distinction between moderates and extremists was in the nature of things bound to disappear. When the moderates declared that their goal was self-government as in the Colonies, they reduced the distinction to a question of pace in reaching the goal, and they could suggest no tests whereby the pace could be regulated. They credited the extremists with unconstitutional methods of agitation. It is difficult to draw a line even between moderate language and violent language. But this is an easy task when compared with the difficulty of defining constitutional methods. What do Europeans expect the moderate leaders to do? Are they to

hold a separate National Congress or merely to abstain from participation in the United Congress ? In any case they cannot arrest the natural evolution of popular politics.

• •

The Conference of May last on Indian emigration to Fiji and other Colonies was held on **Emigration.** the assumption that, though the indenture system was to be abolished, the right of emigration could not be denied. Can the right of assisting the emigrant be denied ? Mr. Gandhi thinks that no one is likely to assist the emigrant except for the benefit of the planter or other capitalist in the Colonies, and the promised aid will be deceptive and a more insidious way of capturing and enslaving the labourer than the indenture system. The Government of India has kept an open mind and Mr. Gandhi advises Indians to oppose assisted emigration altogether. The labourer is too ignorant to emigrate without assistance, and the result will be that he must be content to receive the wages that he can earn in his own country. The labourer is dumb and cannot speak for himself. Perhaps the Government will give a trial to a new system.

• •

While recruiting boards and recruiters are busy finding men for the army, others must **"Our Day."** find money for the well-being of the men. The "Our Day" movement is being vigorously pushed on and one may say without exaggeration that the best brains are employed in devising methods of making the maximum collection next month. The Government of India has decided not to sanction any

more lotteries, but if it is wrong to excite false hopes and betray people into certain loss even for patriotic or charitable purposes, human ingenuity can offer other attractions to those who must have something in return for their money. Before war can be ended we must learn patriotic service of all kinds. Imitating the proverb one may say that a sacrifice in time saves nine.

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FROM CLOUDLAND.

Mr. Montagu arrived at the ancient capital of India reaching Delhi quietly on Sunday the 11th November. This is his second visit. Mr. Montagu lost no time in getting about his business and shortly afterwards saw Sir William Vincent and Mr. B. N. Basu, his two new colleagues in his reform pilgrimage. Ever since, both the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu have been busy sparing no efforts to come in contact with informed opinion.

* * *

A dozen prominent Chiefs including the Maharajas of Bikaner, Gwalior, Patiala, Jaipur and Jamnagar remained in Dehli after the Conference to interview the Secretary of State. All of them had ample opportunities of discussions with him,

The addresses began to come from the 15th November, and His Excellency and the Secretary of State have been listening patiently to various proposals, some of them beyond the province of the present enquiry.

For instance, the Delhi Indian Association, an infant organisation, recommended the creation of a new Province of Delhi which should include Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhund and Umballa Divisions. The deputation was obviously oblivious of the fact that the Secretary of State and the Government of India laid it down that the Supreme Government should not be in residence in the capital city of a Provincial Government. Mr. Shafi's disaffiliated League came next and declined to commit the Moslem community to any particular form of self-government either on Home Rule or Colonial lines. It advocated slow and steady advance along the line of progress and reform. The Punjab Moslem League led by Hon'ble Mr. Fazle Hossain adhered to the Congress-League programme. The Moslim Association with Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan as the leader was none the less positive in voicing the demand for a representative Government. It seemed on a second thought to have left the measure of reform and the stages of its initiation to the discretion of the Government.

Both Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir George Roos Keppel were guests at Government House.

* *

Then came the Agra Zemindar's and the Barons of Oudh. The Agra Zemindars wanted a good deal of change and pressed for the protection of Zemindari interests and Permanent Settlement. The most obvious

course was neglected, and the suggestion for embodying land revenue settlements in Acts of Provincial Legislature was completely forgotten. The Taluqdars of Oudh suggested the creation of a second Chamber for British India.

* *

On the 19th November no less than four addresses were presented, all from Musalmans. The most notable address came from the Moulvis of Deoband who advocated the creation of a Shaikh-ul Islam with a personnel of Kazies and Mufties, but behind the very polished surface of their address was the demand modelled on political ideals of the Congresswallas. The Imam of Jumma Musjid, Delhi, was among those who were privileged to interview the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

* *

On the 20th came two addresses. The U. P. Chamber of Commerce was brief and not tiresome, supporting quietly the Congress-League Scheme. It pressed for consideration of the importance of industrial development as a part of the political advancement of the people. Then came the Kshattriyas with up to date suggestions for permanent settlement or extension of the period to sixty years. The Secretary of State was also requested to protect cows.

* *

The Punjab Provincial Conference came up in great force. Its demand is too well known to need enunciation but the impression left behind was good. The Ahmadya Anjuman's address was original saying they made no demand and yet demanding self-government,

The Punjab deputations gave the impression that this non-regulation Province no longer desired to remain non-regulated.

Sir James Meston and Sir Edward Gait were guests at Viceregal Lodge.

*
* *

The 22nd of November was a busy day both for the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

**The Sikhs and the
Punjab Chiefs.**

The Punjab Zemindars gave a recital of their grievances covering litigation, indebtedness, settlement, increasing revenue, exorbitant water rate, few village schools, bad roads, no hospitals, and no share in the Civil Service, and ended by supporting the reform movement. The Chief Khalsa Dewan claimed strong representation of the Sikhs on the basis of their services in the war. As a democratic people their claim is undoubtedly strong. The Chief's Association gave a neat little address emphasising their importance and claiming adequate representation in any advance that was made without jeopardising peace and order.

*
* *

The Punjab Hindu Sabha condemned the special representation on principle, and asked that if it were retained the Hindu interests should not be allowed to suffer. They endorsed the Congress-League scheme.

**The Punjab Hindu
Sabha.**

Both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy saw a number of distinguished Punjabis in the afternoon, which included Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan, Mr. Shafi, Sir Gurbaksh Singh Bedi, Sirdar Sundar Singh, Mr. Fazle Hossain, Mr. Monohar Lall and Sirdar Jogendra Singh.

26th November may well be called the Field Day. The joint addresses of the Congress and Muslim League followed by the United Provinces Congress and the Home Rule League were received. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy gave the entire afternoon to the well-known Indian publicists who are identified with the nationalist movement. The joint address is so well-known that any detailed examination will be out of place.

Sir Benjamin Robertson was a guest at Viceregal Lodge.



27th November was a quiet morning but the evening was given up to interviews with members of the Home Rule deputation which included Mr. B. G. Tilak and Mrs. Besant. The Secretary of State saw Mr. K. C. Roy in the evening. Muzaffarnagar Zemindar's addresses endorsed the Congress League scheme in full and emphasised the moral value of Permanent or long term settlements over assessments fixed only for short periods.

The Secretary of State saw some prominent officials of the U. P. which included Chief Justice Richards and Sir Verney Lovett.



The Joint Deputation of the All-India Mahomedans fell through. Evidently the question of internments was not considered appropriate for inclusion in the programme of constitutional reforms. The All-India Hindu Sabha sang to the Congress tune, but complained of attempts

to convert the majorities into artificial minorities. The domiciled community did not want any changes at all. It was content to exist and stagnate.

* * *

The discussions at Delhi brought the Secretary of State in touch with many sides of Indian life. We can easily conjure up the scene. Mr. Montagu with his entourage seriously turning the pages of files prepared by the Secretariat giving the strength of a deputation and the characters of its members, listening patiently to what they have read before. Then followed heart-to-heart interviews. We may surmise the characters of the conversations, a few questions asked showing the demand to be either exaggerated or untimely. Mr. Montagu evidently desired the practical points to be cleared with what success we know not. An administration is influenced more by things which are visible than by currents of opinion and the dangers which lurk behind the shadow. It is only the very rare type of a true statesman who realises that opinion alters facts and that action inevitably follows aspiration. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy have for the present said *au revoir* to Delhi where they will return on January 3rd when a Round Table Conference of prominent officials will consider the successive stages of the reforms to be initiated.

* * *

From deputations we must turn to the significance of the visit. The whole of India is glad at Mr. Montagu's coming. "The King has sent his own Vazier to redress our grievances," said a peasant. Who can say that the villagers are ignorant of the visit? Prior to

The Significance of the Visit.

the war opinion in India was slowly gaining in strength, and the desire for a larger share in the Government of the country was growing. It has now become definite and pronounced. Eager and upright men are haunted with new hopes, they see visions of a grand national fulfilment. The Indian says, "If we are to fight and be spent and share the sacrifices and burdens of the Empire, we must also share the Councils from which responsibility grows." It means the awakening of a new consciousness which has found expression in the various addresses to the Secretary of State, the magician, who is expected to wave his magic wand and turn a subject people into self-governing citizens. India expects nothing less from the British connection.



When any people are thus stirred it is impulse or aspiration or some such subtle influence, awakened by men who can utter winged words, which determines action. People will not look at profit and loss accounts and the hazards of the future. Hesitation and halting cannot put out the new light. Diversity of views need not puzzle constructive statesmanship, used to weigh opinion by its unanimity and its strength of conviction.

It must, however, be confessed that the method followed is not likely to help in the solution of the problem nor lessen the weariness and the confusion. One thing is certain that the various deputations have voiced the aspirations of India, and Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy are expected to do the constructive part and put together the various schemes into a harmonious whole.

If it is not too late for a suggestion; a friendly discussion both by officials and non-officials of the various proposals, both regarding the administration of the Provinces and the Indian Empire as a whole, will be more rich in fruit than discussions arrived at in Delhi or Whitehall in an exclusively official conclave. Official and non-official gentlemen who have been given interviews by Mr. Montagu represent various sections and communities. Why should not they be invited to a Round Table Conference to talk over things and put before the Secretary of State a programme which is acceptable to all? Reforms introduced by common consent will serve to link the various people to the Empire, while disagreements are likely to frustrate the very object of reforms; the securing of the good-will of the people for the Government.

* *

Democracy implies the capacity of the individual to govern himself, it means actual realisation of the virtues preached in the Sermon on the Mount. This realisation is as distant to-day as it was nineteen hundred years ago. What India needs is a Representative Government providing for the active association of the leaders of proved ability and public spirit with the Government of the country. The spirit of national unity is indispensable in the case of the most powerful autocracy and in India it can only be secured by closer association of the people with the Government of the country. The change must, however, safeguard the real interests of the people. A change in the forms of Government is

not an end in itself; it is only a means to an end. The Permanent Official holds that the existing system affords the best possibilities of future progress, while the people think that their troubles cannot be appreciated by men who have no stake in the country, who never come to grips with the realities of life, as they are never called upon to share the common burdens or have direct experience of the administrative measures which they initiate. Viewing things from a height is not the same thing as living them.

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At the bottom of the desire for change is the desire for national unity to find new ways of life in response to the demand of a new time. In the multitude of councils the end in itself is hardly spoken of but the young India is animated with the desire to help the common weal, to work towards the raising of the moral and material condition of the people, improving their health and intelligence, and stimulating a larger sense of duty and fellowship. Who can deny that larger views of life will fail to add to the beneficent activities of the Government? In the addresses, like children eager for the spoil, various communities have placed their individual claims over others, forgetting that national reconstruction implies the sinking of communal differences, and the strengthening of the spirit of unity. But this should not be allowed to minimise the significance or the strength of the demand. If Indians could work out a franchise for themselves they would not be asking for it from the Secretary of State.

It is true that the people have not shown the way to carry their proposals into effect nor have the supporters of the existing order taken into account the fact that any attempt to subdue popular aspirations is likely to drive them into the hearts of the people as flames. The constructive part of the work has been left to an overworked Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State, who from stray conversations with Indians and full talks with the officials are expected to arrive at right conclusions and work out a policy of permanent use in conformity with the declaration made by His Majesty's Government. Who will pay the penalty of negligence if a wrong decision fails to harness the energies of the people in the service of the country ?

* *

We owe to the selfless endeavours of Mr. Lionel Curtis, in the cause of the Empire, the joint scheme submitted by some prominent Indians and Britishers. He has succeeded in creating a centre of unity, common sense and sanity in the erst-while capital of the Indian Empire. It has to be admitted that the granting of a representative Government will not at once transform men from dependence to self-government. The elective institutions in the near future will be more educative than responsible, serving to train Indian statesmen in the art of popular Government and in shouldering responsibility. Successive stages of self-government transfer of responsibility, will depend on the pace with which people set towards the goal. Our assemblies both Provincial and Imperial in the coming years will be both educative

and responsible. The scheme set forth by Mr. Curtis in his studies provides for the continuance of the present system alongside with the transference of responsibility to popular assemblies to be administered by popular ministries. The scheme has attracted attention on all sides though it has not found favour with either party. The spirit of compromise and sanity rarely awakens enthusiasm.



What India needs is a scope for her sons in shaping the future destinies of the country. The presence of good and able men on the Executive Council of the Government of India and the Provincial Councils will be a source of strength. The knowledge, the sympathy and the desire to help their fellow-men which they will bring will help to make the Government stronger, beneficent and more actively Indian in its character. Similarly the creation of representative assemblies in all the Provinces based on the elective principle which must have its foundation in the villages will help to foster a spirit of co-operation, self-help, mutual good-will, joint action and joint responsibility. It will leaven the whole mass of population from within and eradicate those evils which our administrators have endeavoured in vain to root out from without. The reforms must come not because the people have asked for them but because they are needed and without them there will be stagnation and disharmony. British statesmanship is called upon to provide for India a Government which understands the heart of India and is one with its aspirations and hopes, ready to take risks to accelerate progress. How can you

help the country if its best men are no more than helots in their own land ?



From the diverse views and the diversity of creatures who have been to see the Secretary of State attempts have been made to draw the moral that Indians are much too irresponsible to be trusted with responsibility. They will, if permitted, recklessly barter away the future interests of the people which the British Government holds in trust for the people of India ; that the forests will be destroyed, Revenue wasted and the future possibilities of development destroyed without concern. Such an assumption is based on misconceptions. The Secretary of State may well give credit to representative Indians for a certain amount of sense. To disappoint hopes solemnly raised will be to court disaster.



The Landholders have put in a plea for an Upper House and Permanent Settlement. An Upper House will, no doubt, be needed to help the Imperial Government with the assistance of men who have vested interests, and others who by ability and grit have won a position and a place alongside with the representatives of noble families. If places can be secured in the Upper House for the aristocracy of intellect along with the landed gentry there is not likely to be any objection to the creation of an Imperial House of Lords. Indeed Self-Government on Colonial lines implies the creation of such a House.

The question of Land Tax is often confused with rent,
Its age long existence, its nearest
The Land Tax. approach to the modern ideas of
nationalisation of land are pleaded in its

favour. The real fact that this tax is paid by men who often hold a fraction of an acre of land, who in many cases eke out a bare existence, is generally ignored. It must be admitted that the standard set for the Land Tax to which it can be raised without any discussion or sanction, is out of all proportion of all other taxes in India and the other parts of the Empire. Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram in his "Agricultural Problem of India," a most valuable contribution on the subject, puts down 50,118,640 tons as the food allowance for the whole population of India and the total produce at 76,360,000 tons. He finds that if a provision was made for food for cattle hardly any surplus is left behind. The misery and distress which prevail in the villages and which come to the surface with a single failure of rain, prove that a fair number of people in India are always on the verge of starvation. Any one who pays a visit to a village in the U. P. cannot once distinguish men who get their food and others who are compelled to endure on short commons. The question is not that of Permanent Settlement but that of equalising the Tax in all parts of India and to exempt the food of the people from being taxed. The modern economists who stand on the nationalisation of land, wish to secure it for the people from the ownership of landlords. In India land was farmed out by the Government at rates which did not leave a living wage behind, and it is this system which the British Government inherited and which it now defends. The question is urgent and in the near future will command attention. The sooner it is

taken up the better. The first step should be to accept finally the definitions of Baden-Powell that the Land Revenue is a tax on agricultural incomes, the second that like all other taxes Land Tax should receive the sanction of the Legislative Councils before any enhancement is made. The third to examine new ways of earning Revenue and giving the land some rest. Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram's suggestions to substitute an export duty in place of a direct tax seems to possess many advantages and deserves full consideration. The Rai Bahadur's scheme claims the following advantages:—

- (i) It will only tax the surplus produce.
- (ii) It will equalise the incidence of Land Tax all over India including Bengal.
- (iii) It will produce the necessary increase in the revenue.

Above all no measure will be more popular in India than the declaration that His Majesty's Government will not in future tax the land directly but tax the surplus produce which goes to the market.



The letter which Lord Lansdowne has published indicates the will to peace. The "Never Enders" are holding to the faith, "now or never." They fail to recognise that the British Empire with all its resources in men and money organised in times of peace will be able to meet any demand that the new times make on it. The moods of nations pass like clouds. Germany will not dare to attack the British

Empire, if the British Empire is organised and prepared to take the field. In war it is always the nation that is prepared for the offensive that carries the day. An offensive policy means readiness, while a defensive policy means a policy of 'wait and see.' We must now have peace with full faith that the future will find the Empire ready to live and die for its faith.

* * *

The Chief's Conference. The Chief's Conference of which the Banquet was a special feature had a successful sitting, though the programme before it was without anything of any great importance. The Princes demanded the creation of a Chief's Council which has been evidently left to the evolution of time. It is not easy to frame a definite scheme of the constitution and function of the Council of Princes. The Chiefs, however, spoke with commendable frankness and without restraint, due undoubtedly to the new ideals which are slowly creeping into the States. A Council of Chiefs will, no doubt, come. Will it lead to the federation of the States? Who can tell.

* * *

The Banquet. The Banquet given by the Princes in honor of the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir James Meston, and Sir S. P. Sinha was a splendid function. His Excellency the Viceroy, the Lady Chelmsford, and H. H. the Begum of Bhopal occupied the centre seats with the Maharaja of Bikaner on the right and Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha on the left. The speeches were eloquent and long. When all the speakers spoke well it would be

invidious to make comparisons. Sir James Meston, Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Patiala were at their best. Sir James Meston is a man of faith and spoke with enthusiasm of the future of India. H.H. the Maharaja of Gwalior and H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala put in a plea for a share in the affairs of British India while H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner deprecated a policy of interdependence and mutual control. There can hardly be any doubt that the States will have to move forward, they cannot remain isolated islands in an India moving towards self-government. Who knows what the new year and new times will bring to India.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

During the period before the Minto-Morley reforms the chief difficulty was that the Government of India was vested almost entirely in alien hands. This was necessary to some extent not merely for the maintenance of law and order, but for the efficiency of the administration. There were, however, unfortunate results.

The people of India tended to become less and less competent to manage affairs for themselves and looked more and more to Government. This was particularly the case with the Mahrattas who, in the opinion of Elphinstone had enjoyed previously a reasonably sound and efficient system of Government. The punchayat system also which should be the basis of responsibility, was weakened and has, in fact, fallen very largely into disuse. A people which has no scope for responsibility is bound to deteriorate. And again, though the Government was assisted by small Legislative Councils, on each of which were a small number of unofficial Indians whose chief business was to acquaint Government with the state of public opinion, it became clear that with the advance of education and with the people, in consequence, holding their own opinions and becoming less subservient to their rulers, Government was tending to be more and more out of sympathy with the wishes and needs of the people.

A certain number of changes were then made. A small number of Indians were placed on the Executive Councils. In one respect, this change was beneficial in that Indians were admitted to the inner councils of Government and were enabled there to advocate Indian views. On the other hand, being in a very great minority, they could not do much to alter the policy of Government, but tended merely to detract from the solidarity and therefore the efficiency of Government. The administration has, therefore, become more and more indecisive in its actions and opportunist in its policy. A larger number of Indians have been admitted to the higher ranges of the public services. This policy is undoubtedly correct in giving more scope to educated Indians, but, so far as the administration is concerned, it has done but little. These appointments, however, have resulted in an altogether disproportionate number of Indians trying to obtain Government posts instead of taking up an independent position as members of a profession or as leaders of commercial or industrial enterprise. Another reform was to tack on to the Executive Councils larger legislative councils with a far greater proportion of elected and unofficial members. In giving advice and criticism and in acquainting Government with public opinion these Councils have not been as successful as the old and smaller ones. Repetition of a proposition does not add to its force and is merely a waste of time to the officials on the Councils. The work of administration cannot be carried on if the permanent heads of departments spend a large portion of their time on the Legislative Councils. And, again, though the unofficial members have very considerable voting strength, they have very scanty powers and their resolutions even if passed by the Council are not binding on the Executive. The result is a great lack of responsibility on their

part, and this irresponsibility is increased by it being unlikely that they will ever be expected to undertake the carrying out of their recommendations, as is the case with leaders of the Opposition under a parliamentary system of Government. And, lastly, under the present arrangements, the official members are rarely able to play an important part in the discussion. The members of the Executive Council are often debarred from open speaking by the knowledge that the subject in question is under consideration by the Secretary of State. Their subordinates also are chary of expressing their views because they may be embarrassing to their official chiefs. There is, therefore, a reserve on the one side and a lack of responsibility on the other. Under such conditions, there can be little or no effective discussion.

In consequence of the increased volume of work, and for other reasons, the Government of India have found it necessary to delegate powers to local Governments, but this increased power, owing to the financial system, has not been accompanied by a commensurate delegation of responsibility. The Government of India, therefore, have given up much of their power, but have retained much of the responsibility. It tends to be the milch cow of the local Governments who feel, somewhat naturally, that to those who ask much, much will be given, and to those who ask little, little will be given. And the leaders of public opinion have a still smaller sense of responsibility in that the budget is not under their control, and, therefore, spend their time in crying for the moon. And, again, certain local Governments, such as Bengal, have also found that under the extremely centralised system of administration,

the burden of administration was becoming too great, and therefore resort has been made to the policy of partition. The results of this policy have been to reduce still further the power of the Government of India through the necessity of consulting a larger number of authorities, and to render an inordinate number of Executive Councillors necessary, for, if only for local pride, each province must have an executive council whether such a form of Government is suitable to its needs or not.

Another difficulty has been that by the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi the Government of India has become hopelessly out of touch with public opinion, and has thereby become more and more timid and lifeless. This indecision has been shown in its handling of war problems and the Mesopotamian campaign. One province, however, with an energetic and powerful Governor and a high-spirited and a martial people, has shown some appreciation of the crisis.

The present then is a policy of drift, and not to smoother waters. The ambition of Indians seems to be merely a substitution of an Indian for an English bureaucracy. In carrying out this policy it is extremely difficult to find out the margin of safety. If the Indianisation of the services is not carried out with sufficient thoroughness, the Indians so included will not exercise any real responsibility and the increased number of appointments will only serve to whet still more the appetite of educated Indians for Government employment, and thus to reduce the efficiency of public opinion and the spirit of independence. If, on the other hand, the Indianisation of the services is carried out with an excessive suddenness, there are grave dangers of a complete breakdown and of chaos.

A bureaucracy without force or efficiency is a most unstable form of Government. Strikes, whether of mill-hands, postmen, or school boys, are dangerous play-things. It may well be that the present leaders of Indian public opinion, if they attain their ambitions of an Indian bureaucracy too soon, may find themselves the Prince Lvoffs and the Miliukoffs of Indian history. And, beside the danger, there is little health in the policy. No Englishman or Indian who is a lover of India can wish England's contribution to the development of India to be the promotion of an Indian bureaucracy. His ideals should be the acceptance of responsibility by the Indian people, educated and trained for the task. The English bureaucracy should be replaced by something far nobler than an Indian bureaucracy, and that, in the natural order of things and without disturbance. Another danger is that of increased irresponsibility. The present is an orgy of indecision. The Secretary of State is bound by the success of the English policy of the Cabinet, and on that depends chiefly whether or not he will continue at the India Office. As his salary is not placed on the English budget, there is little or no real discussion of Indian affairs in Parliament. In consequence, his policy is largely one of inaction through his dislike of embarrassing his colleagues in the Cabinet. Besides, the tradition has grown up that he should trust 'the men on the spot.' Unfortunately, the 'men on the spot,' the members of the Government of India, have also very little scope for responsibility. Being placed on a hill-top they are removed from the big centres of population, they are bound down both in their actions and in their discussions on the Legislative Councils by the necessity of constant reference to the Secretary of State, they are nervous of interfering with the authority of local Governments in matters of policy, though anxious at times to

maintain their prestige by vexatious references on matters of petty detail, and they are extremely sensitive to indiscriminate expressions of public opinion, however or wherever put forward. Their policy therefore is timid, vacillating and indecisive. Local Governments share in this sense of irresponsibility, not only through the necessity of rigid observance of rules and regulations, but chiefly because they must refer any big scheme of reform to the scrutiny of a higher authority which suffers either from a total ignorance of local conditions, or is biased by an earlier participation in the working of such problems. The lot of municipalities and local bodies is even more unfortunate. They are expected to make bricks without straw, and, therefore, the bricks rarely appear. If they do, it is usually due to a dole being given by a higher authority which is accompanied by many restrictions and conditions.

Steps, therefore, should be taken, in the first place, to arouse a real public opinion and to have at hand a large number of independent men, Indians and Englishmen, who will be both willing and capable of accepting the responsibility of dictating a policy which will be carried out by the permanent officials.

It is obvious, therefore, that there can be no real progress so long as the policy of a country is dominated by the interests of the permanent officials. Unfortunately, the tendency of Indians lies in the direction *either* of desiring to be themselves the permanent officials, *or* of expecting the officials to carry out their irresponsible demands. The right line is obviously for the permanent officials to administer the policy dictated by the leaders of public opinion in accordance with the dictates of the Legislative Councils.

For this reason, a member of a service should rarely be a member of an executive council, though, if the Crown wished it, he might conceivably be made a governor of a province. Were this the case it would be a matter of very small importance whether the permanent officials were Englishmen or Indians. It would be for the powers that be to say that Englishmen are too expensive or that Indians are too inefficient, and act accordingly.

And, again, so long as the vast bulk of professional work is carried on by services, there must be a lack of professional men who in other countries play a big part in public life. Unfortunately, again, the desire of Indians is rather to enter such services such as the Medical, Engineering and Educational than to substitute for them real living professions. A country cannot progress in self-government if the professional interests are subordinated to those of a service. It cannot be wise, as now, to lock up so large a proportion of capable men,—Englishmen and Indians,—in professional services. A number of real Universities with eminent professors taking their share in public duties, and large numbers of independent doctors, and engineers are essential. All that is required beyond them is State inspection in the interests of efficiency, health, safety, and justice to the poor.

If, again, these men are to be fitted for dictating policy, they should be trained for the purpose. In other countries such as England, the municipalities and local authorities provide an admirable training ground. In India, the local bodies have very small financial powers and are kept in leading strings of official control. If the public representatives are not allowed to make small mistakes on their

local bodies, they will be bound to make big mistakes when placed in a public post of big responsibility.

When arrangements have been made whereby a large number of public men will be available for the work of the State, and will be trained for that purpose, it will be necessary so to organise the constitution that they will be called upon to undertake real responsibility.

The first step then will be to define the position of the Secretary of State. This minister should hold the same position as that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in regard to the Dominions. This change may be one of difficulty for Indians to accept; for they may feel that without the sympathetic care of the Secretary of State and the British Parliament, they may be bound over hand and foot to the tyranny of an alien bureaucracy. The change, however, must be made if any real reform and any real progress towards responsibility are to be effected.

The Government of India should have complete control over certain matters, without the necessity of making reference either to the Secretary of State or to Provincial Governments. These matters would be foreign relations, defence, communications, commercial policy, customs, etc. The Viceroy should be appointed by the Crown and be autocratic. He should be assisted by an executive council of six, the ministers of finance, army, foreign affairs, commerce, law and the interior. The Commander-in-Chief would be an ex-officio member of the Council. The Viceroy would appoint whom he pleased provided that there were three Indian and three English members. He might appoint from England or India, from a Native State or British India, from officials or non-officials. These members would be immovable, except by the Viceroy. There would be an Imperial Council,

representative of British India and perhaps also of Native States. Its duties would be to advise the Viceroy and the Executive Council on matters within their scope, to act as a second chamber for bills of a certain kind submitted by the provincial Governments, and to pass or reject bills submitted by the Executive Council on matters within their scope. The Imperial Government would draw its revenues from customs, railways, etc., *plus* a *pro rata* contribution from provincial Governments.

All provincial Governments should have executive councils. It follows, therefore, that the multiplication of provincial Governments affects adversely the fulfilment of this policy. The better course would be to go back to John Bright's idea of Presidency Governments. They might consist of the following:—

- (a) Burma.
- (b) Madras.
- (c) Bombay, *plus* the Mahratti speaking part of the Central Provinces.
- (d) Bengal, *plus* Assam and Orissa.
- (e) The Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.
- (f) The United Provinces *plus* Bihar and the Hindi speaking part of the Central Provinces.

These Presidencies would control, subject to very few restrictions, mentioned below, all departments not placed under the Imperial Government. They would raise their own revenues, except that they would only be allowed to raise loans above a certain amount with the permission

of the Imperial Government. The Governor would be appointed by the Crown, and a permanent official would be eligible for the post. In the first instance, the Governor would appoint an Executive Council of six members, one of which would be chief minister. There should be three Indians and three Europeans. They should all be non-officials, except that, at the start, the permanent officials might be eligible for appointment. This would only be possible if, as suggested above, the professional services were replaced by professions.

The Executive Council would be responsible to the Legislative Council which should be entirely elected except that the Executive Council should have the right of nominating a small number of experts. If the Executive and Legislative Councils could not agree, it would be the duty of the Governor to appoint a new Executive Council or to overrule the Legislative Council. If a member of the Executive Council resigned or was thrown overboard by his colleagues, the remaining members of the Council would nominate a successor provided that he were a non-official and the proper proportion of Indians and Europeans was maintained. The members of the Executive Council would belong to the Legislative Council, but would not sit for any constituency. The members of the Executive Council would hold office for a given number of years. All appointments to the Executive Council would have to receive the sanction of the Governor.

The writer's contention is that the present policy is leading merely to the substitution of an Indian for an English bureaucracy and to still further division of responsibility. Home Rule, again, should not mean the right of

irresponsible legislative councillors to dictate the development of policy. Some decision also must be arrived at as to the meaning of a province and its relations to the Imperial Government. The constitution of India should be so formed that each authority has its own share of responsibility and that those who criticise may one day find themselves in the position of carrying out the recommendations which to-day they make with such light-heartedness.

PANDIT.

FROM GHALIB.

The mirrored chamber with its thirsting eyes,
Of silvered glass, all vacant and forlorn
Turned at the coming as the azure skies.
Turn roscate at the smiling glance of morn.

2

The flickering lamp that for a moment glows
Beside the lowly grave, The last tribute
Whispers its message, to the wind that blows
And joins the dead, who are for ever mute.

J. S.

PATRIOTISM
IN THE
ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

At a time when English patriotism is once more finding expression in current literature, at a time, too, when we are turning gratefully to Wordsworth's and Shakespeare's noble expressions of their love of their native land, and are also searching for patriotic inspiration as far afield as the Athens of Pericles, Aeschylus and Aristophanes, it would be foolish to neglect the inspiration which comes to us from the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth, the days in which the dangers of Spanish world-policy drew all sections of the nation together in a devoted allegiance to their Virgin Queen, while its decisive defeat filled them with an intense and glowing patriotism, which, in the loftiness of its enthusiasm and the exuberance of its vitality, eclipsed anything that had gone before, and can scarcely be said to have existed with similar intensity since.

Of the manifold ways in which this patriotism found expression, none was more striking than its manifestation in the drama of the age. Dramatic writing was then the favourite mode of popular literary production, and therefore shared of necessity in the patriotic outburst. The influence of the audience in determining the subject matter of the

plays produced was considerable, and it was only to be expected that the playwrights, catering for the people of London, the heart of the kingdom and the source or centre of all its most glorious enterprises, the home of the Court and the daily spectator of the triumphs of Elizabeth, would provide their patrons with dramatised versions of the great deeds of their country's history. Thus the chronicle play became one of the most popular of all dramatic representations; and the best in this kind are instinct with a love of English traditions, English virtues and English familiar scenes. Such performances gave new life to our forefathers' valiant deeds that had lived long buried in rusty brass and worm-eaten books, "how would it have joyed braue Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had been two hundred yeares in his Tomb he should triumph againe on the stage, and haue his bones embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least (at several times) who, in the tragedian that represents his person, behold him fresh bleeding."

The taste for this type of play reached its zenith in the years following the defeat of the Armada; between 1590 and 1600 some eighty of them were produced; no English monarch from Edward the Confessor to Elizabeth fails to find a place in them; practically all the dramatists of the time make one or more attempts in this genre; one-third of Shakespeare's dramas deal with materials drawn from the history of his country. But whether the period covered by them were earlier or later, British, Plantagenet or Tudor, the thoughts and aspirations of the characters as well as their very dress and surroundings are those of the Elizabethans, and they contain constant appeals to a patriotism of no very noble type. In the manner of Minot and the

earlier chroniclers all England's enemies are denounced as base and ignoble cowards and blockheads, ever the butt of English ridicule and scorn, and quite unable to resist the might of a few Englishmen, however many their numbers may be; English adventurers flaunt it in every land, her heroes are invincible, again and again there rise triumphant paeans to the glory of these English heroes, and praises of England and England's queen abound.

For the dramatists were among the most constant of the panegyrists of Elizabeth as they were also among the most loyal of her subjects. An epilogue, added to Bale's *Kynge Johan* lauds her as a light to other princes, and to her own people the angel of the Apocalypse, marking with the Lord's seal his own true servants; another drama ends with a prayer that she may have true, constant, present friends, who at need will not refuse to die for her. A play written for her entertainment at Greenwich is filled with her praises and with desires to obey and serve her, seeing that since she has been queen all tragedies have fled from state to stage; and one of the characters prophesies her future greatness and the benefits she is destined to bestow on England by restoring to it the golden age.

That Virtuous Virgo, born for Britain's bliss;
That peerless branch of Brute; that sweet remain
Of Priam's state; that hope of springing Troy,
Which, time to come, and many ages hence,
Shall of all wars compound eternal peace.
Let her reduce the golden age again,
Religion, ease and wealth of former world,
Yea, let that Virgo come, and Saturn's reign
And years, oft ten times told, expir'd in peace.
A rule that else no realm shall ever find

A rule most rare, unheard, unseen, unread,
The sole example that the world affords.

The prologue to Dekker's *Olde Fortunatus* discloses two old men travelling to the temple of Eliza or as some call her Pandora, some Gloriana, some Cynthia, some Delphoebe, some Astrœa, all by several names to express several loves, yet all the names making but one celestial body as all the loves meet to create but one soul, the soul of Eliza, who makes her land Elysium. Jonson sings her praises as Cynthia :

How Cynthia'ly, that is, how worthily
And like herself, the matchless Cynthia speaks !
Infinite jealousies, infinite regards,
Do watch about the true virginity ;
But Phoebe lives from all, not only fault,
But as from thought, so from suspicion free,
Thy presence broad-seals our delights for pure ;
What's done in Cynthia's sight is done secure.

Chapman makes Henry of France praise her as the rarest queen in Europe, with a Court the abstract of her kingdom's beauty, state and worth. She is that maiden sea of majesty in whose chaste arms so many kingdoms lie ; and nature drowns the world in admiration of her crown. Lyly, as is natural from his close association with the Court for which his plays were written, indulges in the most elaborate and extravagant compliments to his Queen. His *Endymion* is an ingenious allegory of the relations between Cynthia (Elizabeth) and Endymion (Leicester) with the additional attraction of the rivalry and jealousy of Tellus or Mary, Queen of Scots. " O Cynthia (it is Endymion who is speaking) if thou shouldest alwaies continue at thy fulnes, both Gods and men woulde conspire to rauish thee. But

thou to abate the pride of our affections dost detract from thy perfections, thinking it sufficient, if once in a month we enjoy a glympse of thy maiestie, and then, to encrease our griefes, thou doost decrease thy glemes, comming out of thy royall robes wherwith thou dazelist our eyes, downe into thy swath clowtes, beguiling our eyes ;" and there is a clever conversation between Tellus and Endymion to the effect that as human beings are forbidden to dispute concerning the gods, so it is not fitting to talk about Cynthia but only to wonder at her, for her virtues are not within the reach of human capacities. Though she is but a woman yet so was Venus ; a Virgin, Vesta was no more ; though she shall have an end, so shall the world, and if she is not immortal she is at any rate incomparable.

But as in praise of England Peele outstripped all his rivals except Shakespeare, so in compliment to Elizabeth he is easily first. The King of Portugal dissuades some English and Spanish adventurers from an invasion of Ireland by describing the power of Elizabeth ;

Were every ship ten thousand on the seas,
Manned with the strength of all the eastern kings,
Conveying all the monarchs of the world
To invade the island where her highness reigns.
' Twere all in vain, for heaven and destinies
Attend and wait upon her majesty,
Sacred, imperial, holy is her seat,
Shining with wisdom, love and mightiness;
Nature, that everything imperfect made,
Fortune that never yet was constant found,
Time, that defaceth every golden show,
Dare not decay, remove, or her impair;
Both Nature, Time and Fortune all agree
To bless and serve her royal majesty,

The wallowing Ocean hems her round about,
Whose raging floods do swallow up her foes
And on the rocks their ships in pieces split!

In his *Arraignment of Paris*, the compliment is still more splendid and direct, for in the well-known story of the adjudgment of the apple, Venus, Pallas and Juno resign their claims and give the ball of gold to the Nymph Eliza, after hearing the following glowing description of her from the lips of Diana;

She giveth laws of justice and of peace;
And on her head, as fits her fortune best,
She wears a wreath of laurel, gold and palm;
Her robes of purple and of scarlet dye,
Her veil of white as best befits a maid,
Her ancestors live in the House of Fame,
She giveth arms of happy victory,
And flowers to deck her lions crowned with gold,
This peerless nymph whom heaven and earth belove,
In whom do meet so many gifts in one,
On whom our country gods so often gaze.
In honour of whose name the Muses sing;
In state Queen Juno's peer, for power in arms
And virtues of the mind, Minerva's mate;
As fair and lovely as the Queen of Love,
As chaste as Dian in her chaste desires.

The stage was also utilised, when occasion offered, to emphasise important aspects of the nation's policy, and dramatists occasionally found themselves in prison as a result of their interference in matters of State. The old play of the *Troublesome Raigne of King John*, the basis of Shakespeare's later work, is strongly antagonistic to Spain as the representative of Catholicism, and at the same time is filled with a sense of the self-sufficiency of England in the

face of any foreign foe ; and perhaps the most popular of all the Elizabethan plays was Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, in which the representatives of Portugal and the Spanish Court behold three pantomimic plays in which Robert of Gloucester, the Earl of Essex and John of Gaunt appear as the conquerors respectively of two Kings of Portugal and a King of Castile; while, in Peele's *Edward I* to such lengths could this hatred of Spain lead men, we have Eleanor of Castile, the beloved and popular Queen of Edward portrayed as a lewd, blood-thirsty and perfidious Spaniard, hating the English for their virtues. Lyly celebrates the defeats of Spain in a satire on the greed, ambition and stupidity of Midas, king of Phrygia, who is successfully resisted by the heroic islanders of Lesbos, an allegory which readily suggested to his audience the defeat of Philip of Spain by the islanders of Britain.

Splendid outbursts of national feeling also occur in the pseudo-Shakespearian *Locrine* which is possibly the work of Greene. The following passage may well stand for the reply of the English to all the attempts of Spain to work their country harm ;

And thus, yea thus, shall all the rest be served
 'That seeke to enter Albion 'gainst our wills,
 If the brave nation of the Troglodites,
 If all the coalblacke Aethiopians,
 If all the forces of the Amazons,
 If all the hostes of the Barbarian lands,
 Should dare to enter this our little world,
 Soone should they rue their ouerbold attempts,
 That after us our progenie may say
 'There lie the beasts that sought to usurp our land.

and reply comes back from another character ;

I, they are beasts that seeke to usurp our land,
And like to brutish beasts they shall be serv'd,
For mightie Jove, the supreme king of heaven,
That guides the concourse of the Metiours
And rules the motion of the azure skie,
Fights alwaies for the Brittaines safetic.

Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* also owed much to the popular belief in the importance of England, and many of the characteristics of his style were but the reflections of the tastes and sentiments of his audience. Such lines as

So far from the East unto the farthest West
Shall Tamburlaine extend his puissant sway.

written just after Drake's famous expedition of 1585 must have suggested to the hearers the possibilities opened to them by the enterprises of Hawkins and Drake; the bombastic speeches of *Tamburlaine* reflect the defiance and pride of England in the face of Europe. Heywood wrote of the troubles of Elizabeth during Mary's reign and of the defeat of the Armada in her own, in a play in which the queen appears on the scene at Tilbury and makes a patriotic speech to the troops, after which a series of messengers narrate the course of the struggle. Drake and Frobisher enter waving flags wrested from their Spanish foes, and triumph is the order of the day.

Other plays celebrate English yeomen like George-a-Greene, Pinner of Wakefield, or heroes such as *Coeur-de-Lion* and Robin Hood, or adventurers of the type of Stukeley. Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* recounts the doings of pretty Bess Bridges, a girl worth gold, who charts a vessel to go in search of her lover and performs prodigies of valour against the Spaniards off the Azores and elsewhere. In his *Edward IV* we have the well-known song in commemoration of Agincourt; elsewhere he lets us know how much

English ladies surpass the Portuguese in beauty while English men are unsurpassed in courage and courtesy. Another dramatist shows how three English suitors, despite their poverty, succeed in wooing and winning three sisters in face of the opposition of their father, a wealthy citizen of Portugal, and their wealthy French, Italian and Dutch suitors; another makes a patriotic English tailor maintain against all foreigners the superlative excellence of English ale. Heywood also wrote of London citizens and London prentices, and both Jonson and Dekker delighted in London life and London scenes ;

Our scene is London, cause we would make known
 No country's mirth is better than our own
 No clime breeds better matter.

The praises of England which the plays contain are unsurpassable; the patriotic emotions of the hearers cannot fail to have been roused by the efforts which practically all the playwrights made to voice this love of the land. Sometimes the appeal is made directly to them as in the *Looking Glass for London and England*, a play in which England and her sins are illustrated under the form of Nineveh and her transgressions. At the close of the play Jonah addresses the audience and appeals to them to mend the error of their ways ;

You Islanders, on whom the milder aire
 Doth sweetly breathe balm of kinde increase,
 Whose lands are fatned with the dew of heauen
 And made more fruitful then Actean plaines;

* * * *

O turne, O turne, with weeping to the Lord,
 And thinke the praiers and vertues of thy Queene
 Defers the plague which otherwise would fall !

Even so poor a play as *Lochrine* can rise to the height of poetry in such a cause ;

The plains, my Lord, garnisht with Flora's welth,
 And ouerspread with party colored flowers,
 Do yeeld sweet contentation to my mind,
 The aierie hills enclosed with shadie groues,
 The groues replenisht with sweet chirping birds.
 The birds resounding heauenly melodies,
 Are equall to the groues of Thessaly
 Where Phoebus with the learned Ladies nine,
 Delight themselves with musicke harmony.
 And from the moisture of the mountaine tops,
 The silent springs daunce downe with murmuring streams,
 And water all the ground with cristal waues.

Occasionally the praises are placed in the mouth of contemporary foreign princes, as when Henry IV is made to send Byron to breathe awhile in temperate English air, among men of free and loyal counsels, simple wisdom, and righteous valour, who scorn the scoffs of France, the empty compliments of Italy, and the any-way encroaching pride of Spain, and love, modesty, justice and plainness; or there is a demonstration of the superiority of English magicians over those of the continent in which Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay do great things for the honour of their land, and Bacon prophesies the future greatness of England in the days of Elizabeth;

I find by deep prescience of mine art,
 Which once I temper'd in my royal cell,
 That here where Brute did build his Troynovant
 From forth the royal garden of a king
 Shall flourish out so rich and fair a bud,
 Whose brightness shall deface proud Phoebus' flower,
 And overshadow Albion with her leaves.
 Till then shall Mars be master of the field,

But then the stormy threats of war shall cease;
 The horse shall stamp as careless of the pike,
 Drums shall be turned to timbrels of delight;
 With wealthy favours plenty shall enrich
 The strand that gladdened wandering Brute to see,
 And peace from heaven shall harbour in those leaves
 That gorgeous beautify this matchless flower.

But if we exclude Shakespeare, whom we have reserved for separate treatment, the noblest eulogist is Peele, who was well fitted to be a laureate in the modern meaning of the term, for he is nowhere happier and more successful than in composing addresses and other poems associated with national successes and rejoicings, or in singing the praises of his queen and country, a land which he makes Diana declare to be

A kingdom that may well compare with mine,
 An auncient seat of kings, a second Troy,
 Ycompassed round with a commodious sea.

The finest example of his feeling for England is to be found in his *Edward I*, and despite its length, it deserves to be quoted in full ;

Illustrious England, ancient seat of kings
 Whose chivalry hath royalised thy fame,
 That sounding bravely through terrestrial vales,
 Proclaiming conquests, spoils and victories,
 Rings glorious echoes through the farthest world;
 What warlike nation, trained in feats of arms
 What barbarous people, stubborn or untamed
 What climate under the meridian signs,
 Or frozen zone under his brumal plage
 Erst have not quaked and trembled at the name
 Of Britain and her mighty conquerors ?
 Her neighbour nations, as Scotland, Denmark, France,
 Awed with her deeds and jealous of her arms,

Have begged defensive and offensive leagues,
Thus Europe rich and mighty in her kings,
Hath feared brave England, mighty in her kings.

Shakespeare was too much the poet of his age not to be responsive to his surroundings, and the "influences of the time in which he began his public life must have contributed to infuse into him that bold and uncompromising patriotism which he shares with all the representative minds of the England of his age. In him, whose buoyancy of spirit is equalled by hardly any other of our great poets, is reflected the age when England had once more reason to glory in the generous gift of Heaven, which had made her of little body with a mighty heart." His dramas are instinct with the spirit of action, with the eagerness and enthusiasm of Elizabeth's spacious and attemptive days. It is true that he depends upon the chronicles for his information, and this dependence shows itself in the errors and the bias of many of his plays, his characters are in very many cases hardly historical; yet how many Englishmen there are who owe to him a large proportion of the historical information they possess.

For in Shakespeare's hands the tales and legends of the chronicles pass *sub specie immortalitatis* and form collectively an undying epic of England, the story of the nation rather than the stories of the monarchs who give their titles to the various plays. In everything his country is of the best; in people, in position, even in its splendid isolation; for in him more than in any other of the dramatists we find conspicuous that feeling of the importance of the sea to England, though the emphasis is always on its value as a defence to the country, a barrier dividing its people from their enemies. The idea of the sea as a link binding together

the component parts of a mighty empire was, of course, foreign to Shakespeare and his contemporaries, its value as a commercial highway was but little thought of. To Shakespeare England is still

that pale, that white faced shore,
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides,
And coops from other lands her islanders,
.....that England, hedged in with the main,
That water-walled bulwark still secure,
And confident from foreign purposes.

Not that he was ignorant of the fact that there were peoples and countries elsewhere, or insensible to the imperfections of his countrymen, though even here his metaphor once more suggests England as an island in the sea :

Hath Britain all the sun that shines ? Day, night,
Are they not but in Britain ? I' the world's volume
Our Britain seems as of it, but not in't ;
In a great pool a swan's nest ; prithee, think
There's livers out of Britain.

On the contrary he was keenly alive to the advantages of travel and knew full well that home-keeping youths have ever homely wits. Yet he was equally alive to the absurdity of those travellers who sold their own lands to see other men's, and then returned to lisp and wear strange suits, disable all the benefits of their own country, be out of love with their nativity and almost chide God for making their countenances what they were; and he does not fail to satirise the picked man of countries, who will talk the whole of supper time of Alps and Apennines, the Pyrenees, and Po. Equally absurd is the pride of birth and title, when new made honour doth forget men's names, poor old tiuker Sly is not much the

better for the fact that the Slys are in the chronicles and came in with Richard the Conqueror: and he denounces the English fondness for drinking, and laughs at the readiness with which they will part with their silver to see anything new or strange; as he also pokes fun at the extravagances of speech which were a characteristic of his age, whether it is in the pedantry of Holofernes, the extravagances of Armado or the poetic diction of Biron,

Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
Figures pedantical.

Nor is he blind to the defects in the English climate, at which he allows the French to tilt;

Is not their climate foggy, raw and dull,
On whom, as in despite, the sun looks pale,
Killing their fruit with frowns? Can sodden water
A drench for sur-rein'd jades, their barley-broth,
Decoct their cold blood to such valiant heat?

and the Bourbon's direst threat is that he will sell his dukedom

To buy a slobbery and a dirty farm
In that nook-shotten isle of Albion.

He is, moreover, by no means superior to that vilification of the opponents of England which has been so marked a feature of many patriotic English writers; it is a trick he may have caught from the chronicles he used. However useless to his country the Dauphin may have been, he could scarcely have been the boasting, foolish fellow whom Shakespeare paints, the Dukes of Bourbon and the Constable of France are similarly overdrawn, and it is to be regretted that he shared in the general contemporary defamation of

the fair fame of Jeanne d'Arc. There is perhaps more justification for his representation of the Duke of Austria, continually outboasted and outwitted by the Bastard; but wherever the contrast between nationalities is made or implied, the advantage is ever with the English. In battles always the odds are appalling, and the deeds of English soldiers truly marvellous, English Talbot with scarce six thousand in his troop opposes for full three hours some three and twenty thousand of the French, in a fight

Where valiant Talbot above human thought
Enacted wonders with his sword and lance;
Hundreds he sent to hell, and none durst stand him;
Here, there, and everywhere he flew.

and he is only overcome by the treachery of a base Walloon, who

To win the Dauphin's grace,
Thrust Talbot with a spear into the back,
Whom all France with their chief assembled strength
Durst not presume to look once in the face.

In their courage and audacity the English "lean-boned rascals" fight readily one to ten; at Agincourt five thousand Englishmen defeat sixty thousand Frenchmen, and kill ten thousand French of whom all but sixteen hundred are of blood and quality, though their own losses are but one Duke, one squire and of all other men but twenty five; and the contrast is heightened by a picture of the worn-out and debilitated English forces who are to oppose the chivalry of France. The French too are charged with boasting, though indeed, Bedford, Salisbury and Talbot, to say nothing of Faulconbridge, are past masters in this art, and Henry himself is infected with the taint though he apologises for his boasts and lays the blame upon the country he is in, the air of France has blown that vice in him.

We have seen how zealously Shakespeare's contemporaries eulogised their queen, and he himself is no exception to the rule, though his compliments are not so excessively fulsome as those of the other dramatists. One of the most delicate compliments ever paid to her, a compliment which gathers force from its association with her popular title of the Virgin Queen occurs in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where she is pictured as a fair vestal throned in the west against whom Cupid vainly discharges his love-shaft smartly from his bow,

As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts,
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quenched in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
And the imperial votaress passed on
In maiden meditation fancy free.

More direct and explicit, if less poetic and refined, is Cranmer's prophecy of the future greatness of Elizabeth and her England with which the play of Henry VIII closes; a panegyric, however, which may not be Shakespeare's work :

She shall be

But few now living can behold that goodness—
A pattern to all princes living with her,
And all that shall succeed ; Saba was never
More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue
Than this pure soul shall be.....
She shall be loved and feared ; her own shall bless her ;
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow. Good grows with her ;
In her days every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours,
She shall be to the happiness of England,
An aged princesse ; many days shall see her,
And yet no day without a deed to crown it,

Would I had known no more, but she must die, ,
She must ; the saints must have her ; yet a virgin,
A most unspotted lily shall she pass
To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her.

But Shakespeare is not always concerned with the monarchs Englishmen loved best to remember ; his plays include such characters as Richard II, Richard III and John, though in all these plays other characters pursue the patriotic theme of England's greatness, and Bolingbroke, Gaunt, Mowbray, Richmond, and Faulconbridge atone for the vices or follies of the sovereign as the representative of the State.

For it is the heroic in Englishmen which Shakespeare would seem most to have admired, and it is his heroes who are the most typical Englishmen and the mouthpieces of his patriotic utterances. Faulconbridge has in him very much of the mediæval Coeur-de-Lion, he is a blunt, resolute, and resourceful John Bull who sees the end at which he should aim, moves directly to it ; he is as sincere as any one in his denunciation of Arthur's death, the graceless action of a heavy hand ; and his courage rises with the danger of invasion and is never greater than when he is heartening the vacillating John to contest with the French. Above all things he abominates civil strife, and no denunciation is too fierce for those degenerate and ingrate rebels who would fight against their own dear mother England.

Talbot is another hero shining throughout a somewhat inferior play, acting with fiery resolution and undaunted courage, and if he boasts overmuch, he justifies his bragging by his deeds. His son is worthy of his father, and their last great battle and heroic death appealed strongly to that

exalted pride of race of which the Elizabethans possessed so large a portion.

Mowbray and Bolingbroke are alike redeemed by their love of England. There is something especially touching in Mowbray's lament when the sentence of banishment is passed upon him; a sentence of speechless death robbing his tongue from breathing native breath;

My native English now I must forego;
And now my tongue's use is to me no more
Than an unstringed viol or a harp,
Or like a cunning instrument cased up.

Bolingbroke misses rather the land in which he has lived and finds no pleasure in the foreign travel that will divorce him from it, and he is strong in his resolution to remain its offspring :

Then, England's ground, farewell ; sweet soil, adieu,
My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet,
Wh'er I wander, boast of this I can,
Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman.

Even weak Richard II himself, who has brought so much trouble on his land weeps for joy to stand upon his kingdom once again;

As a long-parted mother with her child
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in meeting,
So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth,
And do thee favours with my royal hands.

But of all Shakespeare's Englishmen of the heroic type, his masterpiece is Henry V, who combines in his person all the best of the attributes that the poet has associated with his greatest Englishmen. He is not so much a personal Henry as the personification of England, the apotheosis of England's might and achievement, fighting courageously and

doggedly, neither cast down by danger nor avoiding it, prepared to go through to the end with what lies before him and facing all dangers with an indomitable spirit, which can even find time to joke and play in the midst of the gravest of them. Henry will not enter upon the campaign without the amplest assurances that he is seeking his undoubted right; being in't he bears himself modestly throughout, ascribes his victories to the help of Heaven, and in his speeches shows a quiet confidence both in himself and in the powers of the nation to which he belongs, which heartens his troops and does much to bring about the victory.

And if Shakespeare holds up to admiration the heroic in these men, it is because they are to him embodiments of the England he loves, the England of action which is the real hero of the plays in which these characters appear; the England whose praises he sings, again and again, in noble strains. Cymbeline and his Queen repel the demands of Augustus Caesar with all the faith in their salt-water girdle which the Elizabethan sea-dogs also had when they resisted Spain;

The natural bravery of the isle, which stands
As Neptune's park, ribbed and belted in
With rocks unscaleable and roaring waters.

Richmond voices the opinion of those who were enjoying the benefits that had followed the cessation of the horrors of civil war, and saw that England's prosperity was bound up with peace. Henry V is England active, aggressive and triumphant, prepared to face the world in arms if assured that her cause is a good one;

On, on, you noblest English,
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof,

Fathers, that like so many Alexanders,
Have in these parts from morn till evening fought,
And sheathed their swords for lack of argument;
Dishonour not your mothers, now attest
That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.

And there is the same sturdy English spirit in the well-known speeches of Henry before the battle of Agincourt.

Free from civil strife and presenting a united front England could face the world;

O England, model to thy inward greatness,
Like little body with a mighty heart,
What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do
Were all thy children kind and natural.

And the same thought is repeated still more emphatically by Faulconbridge, another embodiment of England's independence;

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself,
Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them, nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.

The patriotic spirit in King John is obviously inspired by the successful defence of the country against the attacks of Pope and Spaniard, and this speech of Faulconbridge is both a defiance to the country's enemies and an appeal to her inhabitants to prepare for any danger that might come to her.

But the poet's noblest praise of England, the noblest also of the manifold passages for which the patriotism of the days of Elizabeth was responsible, he places in the mouth

of the dying Gaunt, who has outlived the glories of his father's reign to become the embodiment of England's greatness and the voice through which she speaks in tones of indignant patriotism in the days of Edward's degenerate successor, though his words were doubtless applied by Shakespeare and his audience to the England in which they lived:

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise;
This fortress built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war ;
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands ;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by their breed and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from house,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son,
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land.

F. W. TICKNER.

THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS.

A STUDY.

THE Morley-Minto Reform Scheme of 1910 marks the fifth stage in the journey of India along the path of political progress and constitutional reforms. The journey began with the famous Charter Act of 1833 which definitely recognised the need for a separate Legislative, as distinct from her Executive Council. The recognition was the outcome of changed conditions of the country resulting from half a century of peace and settled Government. The Act vested the legislative power in the Governor-General in Council assisted by a Law Member who had no power to vote except at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulations. The second stage was reached when the Charter Act of 1853 enlarged the legislature by the addition of six Ordinary Members consisting of the Chief Justice of Bengal, a puisne Judge and four official representatives of the major provinces—Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and North-Western Provinces. The Act also placed the Law Member on the same footing as the other Ordinary Members with power to sit and vote at meetings of Executive Council. The third stage began with the Indian Councils Act of 1861 which first admitted the existence of non-official public and the expediency of associating them in the deliberations of the country's legislature. Neither the British

Parliament nor the Indian bureaucracy had then the boldness and the political insight to accord the privilege of electing non-official representatives to the legislature. The fourth stage was reached when Lord Cross brought forward his Parliamentary Act of 1892. Lord Ripon's policy of the development of local self-government was partly vindicated. Here, again, the Parliament and the Cabinet pursued a vacillating and timid policy, and the principle of election was grudgingly recognised. In fact it was Mr. (now Lord) Curzon's speech in the House of Commons that first gave the indication that some measure of elective principle was contemplated by the Act. The Opposition was not slow to take advantage of the speech, and Mr. Gladstone pinned them down to this declaration of policy, and expressed the satisfaction of his party at the step which the Ministry were taking. The regulations under that Act provided for election, and this is how the elective principle came to be applied to the Legislative Councils. The Morley-Minto Reform Scheme marks the fifth stage. The history of this reform is too fresh to need any recapitulation. Coming as it did after a series of unpopular measures it brought about a most beneficial change in the political atmosphere of India the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. This reform extended to the India Council, the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Executive and Legislative Councils.

There can be only two tests of merit for an examination of the institutions with a view to ascertain whether the reforms were a success or a failure; firstly, the official, and secondly, the non-official test. As far as Government

opinions are concerned, successive Secretaries of State and Viceroys have borne testimony to the great help they had invariably received from their Indian Colleagues. And as the proceedings of the India Council, and the Viceroy's Executive Council, are held behind the purdah they are only the opinions we can rely upon at assessing the value of the changes. As regards the Imperial Legislative Council, their proceedings are to be found in the official records as well as in the newspapers, and a careful study of these, supplemented by outside information, can lead to only one conclusion—namely, that the legislatures have not failed in their duty to support the executive. The new Council met on 29th January 1910, and in the very first week of the succeeding month it was called upon to consider Sir Herbert Risley's Press Act. And the Council accepted the Act—with two members dissenting. It had subsequently to pass the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act, and although many were doubtful as to the wisdom of these measures in suppressing anarchy and sedition, the Council stood firm and gave the executive their support when they asked for extraordinary powers to maintain law and order in the country. Since the outbreak of the war the Council has given solid support to all war measures and schemes of new taxation. It would be hard for any official, however severe he may be in his criticisms on the development of Parliamentary institutions in India, to deny that the Imperial Legislative Council have not stood by Government during the past seven years—a period of anxious times.

As regards the non-official test, an examination of the proceedings will be convincing. Let us see what the Council have done during the greater part of the past seven years.

Interpellation forms one of the best weapons in parliamentary warfare but it has not been developed on proper lines in Indian Councils, for which the non-officials and officials are equally responsible. The former ask unnecessary questions at considerable length, while the latter improve upon it by short speeches which, even by any stretch of imagination, cannot be described as answers. The intention on both sides is clear to all who have had occasion to follow closely the proceedings of the Legislative Councils—the non-officials have been anxious to focus public complaints and grievances, and the official members have been equally anxious to place at the disposal of the Council as much information as possible even at the risk of being considered guilty of making short speeches at question time. Thus parliamentary technique has suffered, but the moral gain has been considerable. Along with Interpellations supplementary questioning has been neglected. But the prominent members have often interposed with inconvenient questions to which the usual stereotyped demand for notice has been claimed. The following table about supplementary questions will be instructive :—

1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.
1.	2.	3.

Further comment is needless.

The non-official members have had to be careful in undertaking bills of their own which would in any way trench upon the executive domain. The dictum has always been that important legislations affecting the vital issues of administration should always emanate from the responsible official members of government, a doctrine which was emphasised by Sir Reginald Craddock while speaking on

Mr. Dadabhoy's Bill for the protection of minor girls. Moreover, the sudden outbreak of war has considerably interfered with the programme of non-official legislation. All the same since the Morley-Minto scheme of reforms came into force no less than 9 Bills have been introduced of which four are now on the statute book, and one has been merged into an official Bill still pending. The principle of another is likely to be accepted and embodied in an official measure at no distant date. A comparative study of these Bills will not be without interest.

MR. MADGE'S BILL.—This was a measure which was intended to combat the White Slave traffic. The Bill was circulated, and it was found that the question could be dealt with under the provincial Police Acts. Mr. Madge went out of office and nothing further was heard of it.

MR. DADABHOY'S BILL.—Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy wanted to deal with the question of the protection of minor girls including that of those known as *Devadasis*. Mr. Mudholkar had also given notice of a similar Bill but Mr. Dadabhoy had the priority, and the Bill was introduced in due course. It was published and circulated, and the result was that Government brought forward a measure of its own which went into Select Committee, but did not satisfy some of the prominent Hindu members, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and Mr. Achariar. This is still pending and may take a definite shape as soon as the pre-occupations of war cease.

MR. BASU'S BILL.—This dealt with the problem of marriage reform in India, but it was so strongly opposed by the orthodox leaders of the Hindu and Muslim Communities, that it had to be abandoned, Government adhering to their policy of neutrality. Another Bill of the same

description is only a question of time, as some marriage law on progressive lines is urgently required.

MR. GOKHALE'S BILL.—This was the famous Elementary Education Bill which after consultation with Local Governments and public bodies, Sir Harcourt Butler opposed on behalf of the Government of India and was thrown out. Since then a great change has come over the country and both officials and non-officials have become willing converts, and the principle for which Mr. Gokhale worked so hard has already been embodied in several draft Bills which are likely to be before the Provincial Legislative Councils. An Imperial Bill may also be foreshadowed.

MR. JINNAH'S BILL.—This was the Wakf Bill which was passed by the Legislative Council.

MR. MALAVIYA'S BILL.—This was a Bill to amend the Registration Act which was passed this autumn.

MR. SETALVAD'S BILL.—Mr. Setalvad's Bill dealt with the question of inheritance of unborn persons. This was accepted in a modified form by the Council and is now an Act of the country.

SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY'S BILL.—This was to amend the Indian Trust Act and was passed.

MR. MALAVIYA'S BILL.—This is a Bill to amend the Transfer of Property Act which is still pending before the Council.

Thus it will be seen that the non-official members have been successful with their Bills in spite of prevailing pre-possessions against Private measures.

The most valued privilege which the Morley-Minto reforms conferred on the Councils is the right of moving

resolutions. This privilege has been very freely exercised by the members with advantage to Government and' profit to country.

The new Council began its sittings in January 1910, and the first session was spent as a period of apprenticeship. But several important resolutions were moved notably by the late Mr. Gokhale which greatly influenced the policy of the Government of India. In course of the first resolution he raised the question of Indentured Emigration to Natal and urged that the Governor-General should have enabling power to stop it—a proposition which was accepted by the Council, and its sequence is too well known to need any statement. Perhaps the most important was the second resolution he moved urging that a beginning should be made in making primary education free and compulsory. This was hotly opposed in the Council and was thrown out. But some of those who were strong opponents in those days are now powerful exponents of Mr. Gokhale's view. Time will prove Mr. Gokhale's wisdom. As usual there were several resolutions during the Committee Stage of the Financial Statement that year, and the Financial resolutions have always been designed to draw Government's attention prominently to certain questions which the non-officials desire, and upon which no full dress debates take place. But Mr. Mudholkar's resolution for establishing a Polytechnic Institute received a good deal of attention. The resolutions in 1910-11 stood as follows:

Accepted	...	...	1.
Rejected	...	...	17.
Withdrawn	...	...	14.

This was the fate of the resolutions. But those who have watched the activities of the Government of India

know perfectly well that neither acceptance, nor withdrawal, nor even rejection is the final end. Every resolution is carefully scrutinised in the light of the remarks made, and most important propositions brought forward always influence the Government actions. The only resolution accepted this year was the adoption of half-assets of Land Revenue Settlements for Central Provinces which was moved by Sir G. M. Chitnavis. Among the rejected resolutions were (1) the demand for the creation of a small Executive Council to assist the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces which was moved by Mr. S. Sinha and opposed by the late Sir John Jenkins and negatived by the Council by 40 to 18. What is the position to-day? A Council Government for United Provinces is now almost an accomplished fact, and a Governorship looms also on the horizon. Sir John Hewett may say what he likes in the English Press but the creation of an Executive Council at Allahabad is irresistible. Mr. Sinha was also responsible for (2) the demand for the creation of a High Court at Lahore. This was also negatived as a matter of course, but here again, the Secretary of State's sanction for a High Court has already been received. Mr. Haque came forward with (3) a scheme for free primary education and this too was negatived. Mr. B. N. Basu (4) objected to the grant of subsidies to the vernacular papers and mark, it was a proposition that was negatived by 9 to 44. But now where is the paper—*Sulav Samachar*—and where is the subsidy? Poor Sir Edward Baker lost no time in closing this unhappy transaction. Mr. Subba Rao propounded a demand for (5) a Public Services Commission which too was discussed at length. Since then the Public Services Commission has come and gone and the net result of their deliberations is already overdue. In that year

a number of very important resolutions were moved in the Committee stage of the Financial Statement by Pandit Malaviya and others, but which neither time nor space will permit me to examine fully. But mention must be made of the resolution moved by Mr. Dadabhoy for the abolition of Cotton duties which was negatived by 32 to 20. To-day, after six years the proposition has been accepted, and six years is nothing in the affairs of a great Government.

In the year 1911-12 no resolutions were accepted,
12 were rejected, and
8 withdrawn.

A good deal of attention was paid to the Committee Stage of the Budget. In the earlier part of the winter session Mr. Gokhale raised the question of Inchcape Commission which had come out from England to settle some matters under dispute between the Railway Board and the Board of Directors of Company-managed lines in London. Mr. Gokhale was very serious and spoke with heat and frankness. But Sir William Clark as official spokesman evaded the subject by a clever speech, and as a result of the division it was negatived by 38 to 19. This, however, marked the beginning of a campaign of trenchant criticism of Railway policy by the non-official members which has culminated in a demand for the gradual transfer to State control of Company-managed Railways—a doctrine to which a large section of responsible men, both official and non-official, subscribe. The next was the question of Indentured Labour raised again by Mr. Gokhale and which was after a good deal of discussion, as to its political and economic effects, negatived by 33 to 22. Mr. Freemantle's speech was one of the best contributions to the debate. But what was rejected in 1912 has been accepted in 1917. Coming to the

Financial Resolutions in the Committee Stage, Mr. Gokhale raised the question of the resources of Local bodies as a result of which Sir Fleetwood Wilson gave away the entire Land Cess to the provinces of Northern India including Bengal, and something more about it will be heard as a part of the post-war reforms. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey raised the question of gold currency and a Gold Standard Reserve. It is needless to state that the Bombay mint is already open to gold coinage, and the position of the Gold Standard Reserve is greatly changed since the date of the Resolution.

In 1912-13,
2 resolutions were accepted,
8 rejected, and
5 withdrawn.

The Council was considerably handicapped this year for three reasons. It was the second election which brought in a number of new members. It was also the first time the Council met at Delhi under new surroundings, and lastly the outrage on Lord Hardinge caused a genuine sense of depression and sorrow. But a good deal of work was done, particularly during the Committee Stage of the Financial Statement. Mr. Gokhale was busy with the Public Services Commission but returned to Delhi with the object of raising the question of primary education once again for the benefit of the new Council. He wanted the publication of official papers which was negatived by 37 to 19, though Sir Harcourt Butler made an optimistic speech assuring the Council that Government were "determined, anxious, earnestly and intensely desirous to make a big forward move." Mr. S. N. Banerjea raised the vexed question of the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. After a heated debate the motion was lost by 37 to 25. Mr.

Wheeler made a clever speech pointing out that the matter was still under correspondence. More on this subject will doubtless be heard next cold weather. Mr. Glaznavi moved a resolution for the extension of Muhammadan holidays which was accepted. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis advocated the adoption of preferential tariffs to make up for the loss of Indian revenues by the suspension of opium trade, when an opportunity was taken to thresh out the whole question and an interesting debate was the result. It looked merely academic then, but it is bound to play an important part in the post-war trade policy. The question of the development of sugar industry was also discussed and the matter has ever since received considerable attention from the Government of India.

In 1913-14,
3 resolutions were accepted,
16 were rejected, and
14 withdrawn.

Mr. Banerjea took the earliest opportunity in the cold weather to raise the question of the Press Act. The Local Governments had so badly handled this Act that a great change had come over public opinion since it was passed. The resolution was negatived by 17 to 39 and all the non-officials excepting Messrs. Montieth, Abbott, Maung Meye and Malik Umar Hyat Khan voted with Mr. Banerjea. This question is by no means closed and has since then been receiving attention. Mr. Ramayaningar proposed Advisory Boards for the assessment of income tax and Government agreed to invite opinions on the subject, which they did, and the matter has since then been dropped. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy raised the question of bi-weekly mail service which he himself withdrew. But

the improvement in the service is bound to come after the war. He also advocated the creation of Conciliation Boards for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim disputes which, after consultation with the Local Governments, has been allowed to remain in abeyance. Mr. Ramarayaningar raised the question of Jail Reforms and wanted a Committee. The proposal was accepted and we may look forward to a Committee in the near future. The debate stimulated Sir Reginald Craddock to a quotation which ran as follows:—

“That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.”

Mr. Achariar raised the question of Railway strikes and State management—a lead which has been ably followed up by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and may lead to practical results. The resolution, however, was negatived. Mr. Banerjea wanted a revision of provincial settlements on lines of provincial autonomy—a question which is at present receiving considerable attention though the motion was then rejected. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis wanted an enquiry into Bank failures but Government intervened with the plea that liquidation proceedings were going on, and the resolution was withdrawn. The question has, however, by no means closed and the discussion is likely to prove of great value in connection with the proposed banking legislation. Raja Kushal Pal Singh urged extension of the period of land revenue settlement to fifty years but it was rejected. Pandit Malaviya raised a number of questions during the Committee Stage of the Financial Statement too numerous for detailed notice here, and some of these resolutions had considerably influenced Government allotments in subsequent budgets. Mr. Banerjea raised the question

of broadening the basis of Local Self-Government and his resolution was eventually divided into several parts, portions of which were withdrawn, and portions rejected. This matter has since received considerable attention and some of the suggestions have already found a place in the provincial Bills which have been formulated for improvement of Local Self-Government.

In 1914-15,
5 resolutions were accepted,
5 rejected, and
3 withdrawn.

This year witnessed the outbreak of war and the first resolution was by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis that India should participate in the military and financial burdens of the Empire. The entire proceedings were published as a White Paper and presented to the British Parliament. Mr. Das moved a resolution of thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor for his gracious visit to the Indian troops. This might look a merely formal resolution but is by no means unimportant. Mr. Dadabhoy wanted a Chief Court for Central Provinces but he withdrew his resolution. But the question is yet before the Government of India. Mr. Ramarayaningar raised the question of the use of vernacular media in the secondary schools. The resolution was discussed at length and only recently Sir Sankaran Nair convened a conference for the discussion of this question but Government has yet to issue orders. Pandit Malaviya raised the question of Wheat Conference and Government purchase of wheat which was accepted and acted upon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola raised once again the question of State Management of Railways and asked for an examination of the

system, which Sir William Clark accepted. Since Mr. Achariar raised the question, this was the third of the definite occasions when Government attention was invited to it. After a good deal of obstruction in the beginning Government yielded.

In 1915-16,
9 resolutions were accepted,
2 were rejected, and
5 were withdrawn.

This was the second year of the war and the members were anxious to avoid controversial subjects which accounted for the large number of resolutions accepted. Mr. Shafi moved his famous resolution urging India's representation at the Imperial Conference and the representation of India by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha is a matter of recent history. Dr. M. N. Bannerjea raised the question of medical training in vernacular, a matter which is still receiving attention. Mir Asad Ali Khan wanted Government support to be extended to indigenous systems of medicine to which the late Sir Pardey Lukis gave no little attention. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola wanted a Commission of Enquiry into development of industries in India and Sir Thomas Holland's Commission is the result. Mr. Bannerjea wanted the Calcutta University to be placed under the direct control of the Governor of Bengal and the question will no doubt be examined by the Calcutta University Commission which has already commenced its sittings under the chairmanship of Dr. Michael Sadler.

CONCLUSION.

There are extremists on both sides to whom an examination will mean only a waste of time. But it may serve to clear up some misunderstanding which exists in the minds of

thoughtful people who happily form the bulk of the population. To men like Lord Sydenham and Sir John Hewett, who are busily engaged in fomenting agitation against the Indian aspirations, nothing can prove or disprove their political beliefs. Similarly, to a section of Indian extremists nothing could disabuse them of their impression that the last reform was essentially an eyewash. But to a student of contemporary history who has followed the Council as well as the working of the Supreme Government, it is abundantly clear that the Reformed Council have greatly influenced the policy and decision of the Government of India. The non-official Indians have been doing their duty and have been successful in shaping, to no small extent, the future destiny of the country. The Morley-Minto experiment has been an undoubted success and the question comes, what next? The answer was given by Lord Hardinge when in his last farewell speech he said, "At the present stage of development India is not a difficult country to govern, provided she can realise that Great Britain is in sympathy with her legitimate aspirations. To do this and to maintain the confidence of India concessions must be gradually made to political progress." For the realization of this promise, India looks forward to Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu.

K. C. ROY.

Delhi.

WOMAN.

WOMAN is woman whether in the East or West in spite of the difference of race or creed. She has the same interests, the same feminine weaknesses though somewhat varied by place and custom. For woman to know woman therefore cannot be an impossible task, even if their birthplaces are at opposite ends of the earth. Why then in India is the lack of understanding between the European and the Indian woman looked upon as a problem almost impossible to solve. If it is a problem at all there has been a fundamental error in attempting the solution. The Englishwoman has more in common with the Indian woman than she can ever hope to have with the Chinese or Japanese for no other reason than the fact that in centuries back they had the same Aryan forefathers. They must still possess in spite of the mark of centuries of difference in climates and surrounding a similarity in physiognomy. The languages still have traces of common roots, and if we look into immemorial custom, we can trace a distinct common origin. The ancient Sanskrit marriage rites in part correspond almost word for word with the Christian one, the main ideas of the marriage vows being almost identical. Therefore, looking beneath the surface there is enough common ground between the Indian and the Englishwoman to form a basis of sympathy and understanding. The customs of the Indian woman, are quite different, it is true, to those of her European

sisters. But anyone at all conversant with Indian history or literature knows that the ideals of Indian womanhood are so high that they can only evoke admiration from an alien mind. It is true also that the interests of the orthodox Indian woman are far narrower than the Englishwoman, and she has no field to develop her energies, intellectual or otherwise, in public life. But it is also true that in her own particular sphere of a wife and a mother, there is no woman in the world who can compare with her, for her life of total self-sacrifice which the traditions of her race and custom demand from her. Her habits and customs may seem strange to the Englishwoman who is known to be insular. But should not her very difference of custom and environment make her all the more interesting to the English mind? Unfortunately, the Englishwoman in India looks upon her Indian sister as a being far beneath her, who by her contact with the West is awakening to an idea of civilisation but is not civilised. She forgets the centuries of civilisation which lie behind the Indian woman giving her spiritual support. She forgets that when the Saxons were still groping in the dark there were women in India who could hold their own amongst women of the world. If when Englishwomen came out to India they made it a point to study its history and literature, for which there is every facility in the English language and to master one Indian language, even Hindustani, three-fourths of the difficulties of the so-called problem would then be removed. The Englishwoman would not form a judgment of her Indian sister in ignorance and through a mutual understanding there would be something gained on both sides. The Englishwoman could help her Indian sister to readjust her social and intellectual ideas to fit in with the times. While the Indian woman could set

before her English sister a high ideal of domesticity which she has lost in the tumultuous tide of a Western life. But the question is how can this understanding and sympathy between the two communities be arrived at? As has been often pointed out there are difficulties in getting at the orthodox Hindu woman, who is fairly inaccessible. The only way would be through a medium and the medium should be the enlightened Indian woman. She is in close touch with her orthodox sister, because her modern enlightenment only dates back a generation or two, and she claims near relatives and kinsmen in the most orthodox households. She, alone, could help her English sister to reach the heart of the orthodox Hindu woman. But, unfortunately, Englishwomen do not realise this; they plan out their own methods to penetrate the purdah which usually results in a failure: just as in the case of the National Indian Association Club in Calcutta. I was told by an Englishwoman, an official's wife, that their main object was to get at the orthodox Hindu lady. The European members made no secret of this, and rather ignoring the educated Brahmo ladies, who are more advanced in Calcutta than in any other part of India, they simply stretched out their hands directly to the purdah lady and with very little result. The purdah ladies of position readily included their names in the committee as members, and were generous in donations, but very few of them have attended the actual meetings, nor has there been any real link of sympathy formed between them and their Western sisters, even after so many years. The reason is obvious; if the European ladies had done all they could to come to a mutual understanding, first with the educated and advanced ladies who were not at all tied by purdah, and who were perfectly well acquainted with European

customs and habits, this would have tempted the purdah ladies out of their seclusion. But if the enlightened Indian ladies remain outside the pale of English Society there is nothing to encourage the purdah lady to break through the customs which bind her—it rather encourages her to keep to them. There are many matters for reform in India: infant marriage is at the root of most evils, but it is now dying out in many parts, and the girl has more chance of education and freedom before she takes up the responsibilities of married life. But still, there is great room for reform in the social life of India, as there is in the political, and a part of this responsibility must lie with our English sisters whose husbands and brothers hold the reins of Government. Let the English rule, which has been established in India, be the means of throwing off all these evils and of raising Indian womanhood to a higher and broader sphere, in keeping with the times.

Unfortunately, the Englishwoman often lives 20 years in India without ever coming in contact with Indian life among the higher classes. An Indian woman is bound to know something of the customs and ideas of the English, living in a country where the laws and institutions are British. But the Englishwoman need not acquaint herself with anything Indian, unless she chooses to, her only acquaintance being with the servant class from whom she forms her opinion of the whole nation. I will illustrate this by an example. I was acquainted with a lady in England who was a Theosophist and Buddhist by religion, and had a great partiality for Indians. She was a lady of means and made it a point to extend her hospitality to Indians. She happened to be seated at a social gathering next to a man who had been a planter in India. The lady made conversation by

saying she had some Indians staying with her as her guests, upon which the man exclaimed in disgust, "how can you waste your hospitality on Indians? I have been several years in India and know what they are like." "Really!" answered the lady, "how many educated Indians have you come across?" Taken aback, the man said "Oh, I have only met the coolie class. I meant them of course." I shall give one other example of an Englishwoman who had been 5 years in an Indian town, but had no idea of what the Indian quarter was like. When asked the reason by another English lady who studied the Indian life there and did her best to get into touch with it, she answered "My husband never likes me to drive through the streets of the Indian quarter." This city was one teeming with historical interest and was the scene of many processions of grandeur.

The Englishwoman will put forward the point that her social engagements take up most of her time, she has none to spare in the difficult task of getting to know the Indian woman. Let her look upon it as her duty, in the same way as other social functions, and if she goes about it the proper way, it will not prove an irksome task but a pleasant duty. Let her admit first her enlightened Indian sister into her intimate social circle and treat her as her sister and her equal, not as a being deserving of her patronage, then only can she have hopes of doing real good to Indian womanhood in general, and thereby strike a note of harmony in the social and political life of the East and West in India. It is inconceivable that the Indian woman should be denied true access to the heart of her English sister at this hour in the epoch of history when kneeling at the altar of the dread War God she is making untold sacrifices.

S. MUKERJEE.

WAITING.

The last cow-herd had, whistling, passed along
 The gloomy lane, the crimson dust laid low ;
 Beyond the waving palms there gleamed a row
Of lights upon the temple tow'r ; a song
Came floating from a distant field ; a throng
 Of birds, belated, sped their silent flight
 Across the heavens and seemed perturbed in fright
At Titan darkness growing deep and strong.

But still she lingered in the mango-grove
 Beside the lotus-pool, to bide her tryst :
 Unawed, through darkness peered her anxious sight,
Her arms outstretched to clasp her lord of love
 And sweetly sport with him as she might list,
 Embosomed in the stillness of the night.

Benares.

P. SESHADRI.

INDIA A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

THE old aphorism that wisdom is justified by her children is specially applicable to the adoption of the democratic principle as the true creed of modern politics. The progress made in art, science, and all the factors of civilization by the small democracies of ancient Greece, the republics of the middle ages, and the great republic of ancient Rome speaks for itself. It was all due to the enjoyment of liberty by the peoples of those countries. The legacies left by them to posterity stand in marked and brilliant contrast to the inglorious memory bequeathed by their contemporary and contemporaneous despotic states. On the other hand their failure in some instances, and overthrow and supersession in others by other systems of Government justifies the anti-democrats in their opposition to the spread of the democratic idea. It may, however, be disputed whether the ancient democracies fell on account of internal decay or adventitious circumstances. In human affairs there are, metaphorically speaking, consecutive rising and falling waves; and it may be that the ancient commonwealths declined because of the permanent injury done them by extraneous forces, which were too strong for them to grapple with, just when their tide was running low.

Whatever may be the cause, the failure of the ancients has not deterred the moderns from treading the same path ; for they evidently believe that, with the adoption of necessary precautions warranted by the experience of the past and with the assistance of the Press, the Railway and the Telegraph, their course on the democratic wave is safe. Claiming reason and experience to be on their side, the democrats are hourly gaining adherents to their cause. The Republic of Switzerland, though it consists of a non-homogeneous population, has justified its existence for centuries. And so have the United States of America, France, Portugal, Britain, Japan and Italy of modern times. These last three, though limited monarchies in form, are essentially democratic in national spirit. Leaving aside the other European states, in all of which the will of the people more or less prevails, and which are fast advancing towards actual democracy and now Russia is fighting free of an autocracy strengthening the cause of democracy all over the world.

The eagerness of the Musalman population of that Empire to embrace the republican doctrine and establishment of constitutional government in Turkey and Persia several years before the present war, have belied the observation made a few years ago by Mr. Balfour that Islam is incapable of political progress. The world cannot be too often reminded—and the All-India Muslim League does it every year—that Islam is essentially democratic in theory and religious doctrine. Anglo-India nows very well the existence of the institution of *Jirgah* among the frontier tribes of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan which the British Government scrupulously recognises and maintains in deference to the freedom-loving spirit of these Musalmans.

As for the Hindus their village punchayat system existing from times immemorial is too well known to require comment. It needs only to be developed for higher purposes of Government.

The democratic spirit is spreading all over the world. The East supposed to be changeless, is no longer changeless. Japan has got popular government. China is a republic. Central Asia under the influence of the new Russian Republic, and Afghanistan driven by world forces are bound to move towards democracy. The Philippine Islands have already been given partial Self-government. What, then, about India?

This is a question well worth the serious consideration of Anglo-India. She alone of all the other members of the Indian Body Politic, and even of the British Commonwealth of nations chooses to maintain an impassive imperturbability in this matter. It is natural that she should do so having long been in full possession of political power and authority. But the times require that she should let the people participate and associate with herself in the government the country.

The soul of England has been stirred to its deepest depths by the War. One cannot believe that Anglo-India does not feel some generous emotion. It cannot be that she is not awake to the altered conditions of the world or that her outlook has not been widened. It is impossible that she should not think of increasing the strength of the mother country by helping to make India an *organic* member of the British Commonwealth. It is impossible that she should not show a spirit of self-sacrifice in the sacred cause of the vital organisation and consolidation of the British Commonwealth.

Anglo-India can never be accused of a lack of patriotism. But let it for once be admitted that her patriotism has hitherto been of a rather selfish type. True democratic spirit—which has certainly come over Britain and the Dominions—requires, as the direct and most immediate consequence of the war, *the recognition of the most imperative need of making India a vital member of the British Commonwealth which at present she is not, and which she can never be, except on terms of equality and mutual respect.* India has made her offer in a practical and substantial manner of her whole-hearted co-operation in the World War. Her loyalty and devotion has proved itself. It is for Anglo-India to extend to her the hand of fellowship at this critical juncture. Let her seize the golden opportunity—one that occurs rarely in the tide of human affairs—and place herself at the head of the great Indian forces that are moving and every day gaining in might and majesty. It will be an evil day if she loses this opportunity of a closer fellowship. The soul of Britain is bent upon making the British Commonwealth a living organism. India is also knocking at the door for admittance and His Majesty's Government has declared that India is an integral part of the Empire. The Empire must become an organic whole from loosely linked colonies, dominions, and dependencies. Anglo-India is well aware that it is liberty alone that enables a people to do its utmost to advance the cause of civilization which is also the cause of the British Commonwealth as opposed to that of German *kultur*. India has proved her loyalty and true worth in the furnace of fire. Let her now receive recognition and get her place in the Commonwealth of the Empire.

Anglo-India, with her prestige, her authority, her claims to being the best-informed, the most enlightened and the most public-spirited of the component parts of British India, should facilitate every thing in her power to make the adopted country inherently strong, united and self-reliant, and a permanent part of the Empire, its strength and not its weakness. An imperialist of Lord Curzon's type has evidently imbibed this conception of the Commonwealth as is gathered from his speech delivered on the 23rd of February last at the opening of the School of Oriental Studies in London by His Majesty the King-Emperor. His Lordship talks of "the road which East and West would travel together, hand in hand, in an ever closer and fraternal union."

Sir Valentine Chirol strikes a similar note in his article on "India's Position in the Empire" in the last March issue of "East and West." The strongest and most serious impediment to a mutual understanding between the different parts of the Empire is, as he rightly remarks, "profound ignorance." Now, whose duty is it to dispel this ignorance? Surely not that of the educated Indians alone, as Sir Valentine seems to think, but of the more advanced Anglo-Indians also. Favourably circumstanced as they are, as compared with the Indians, they ought not only to take the lead but the most active, disinterested and sympathetic part in the making of new India. It is a religious duty that they owe not only to the Commonwealth and to themselves but to their posterity. The *Gita* says that common people invariably follow the example of the great.

The Anglo-Indians form the official aristocracy of India. Let them sacrifice their individual interests for the cause of

the British Commonwealth and win the hearts of three hundred millions of God's people.

The duty and responsibility of the educated Indians is no less. Few of our leaders, it must be admitted, have so far risen to any thing like any accurate conception of India as an organic member of the British Commonwealth. Only the other day they were reminded by Sir Krishna Gupta that before asking for Self-Government they should secure the right, * and learn, to defend their own country against outside aggression. Again, India is not only the India directly under the British Government, but also Indian India. The Indian-ruled States must find a place in the Councils of a self-governing India and the Commonwealth cannot be ignored. We must, therefore, proceed to consider their position in the Indian Body Politic as a whole.

It strikes one as curiously strange viewing the Indian politicians and publicists in their scheme of Representative Government for India, little or no thought appears to have been given to the position of the Indian Rulers. Do their States form no part of this ancient country? Have they no stake in its economy and existence? Have they no relations with the present Supreme and Provincial Governments, and no inter-relations with one another? Are their interests not bound up with the progress, welfare, and security of the country as a whole? Are their history, religion, traditions, languages, ethnology, customs and manners not the same as those of British India? Is it in the power of anybody to leave them out of account, even if he would, in any scheme of Indian Constitution? Do the British Indians want to

* Read in this connection the pathetic account of Gurbachan Singh related by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh in the "Common-weal" of 13th July 1917.

have Self-Government for themselves but would deny it to the people, who happen to inhabit Indian States? The problem faces you wherever you turn in the field of Indian politics and cannot be set aside or ignored.

The fact is that when political activity first began to assume a definite form in British India, the Native Indian States did not appear to march with the times and show a progressive spirit. There was a lurking fear, not without foundation, in the minds of the Indian politicians that they might thwart their newborn aspirations and even assist in nipping them in the bud. The politicians are not to blame, therefore, in disregarding them. Circumstances, however, have materially changed in recent times, and things have taken a more hopeful turn. Some of the Princes are anxious to liberalise their administrations and even to part with their prerogative. Already some of them recognised their duty to the people and instituted popular representative assemblies, and in educational, moral, industrial and social progress in some cases forged ahead of British India. The Indian politician should, therefore, regard the enlightened Princes as co-workers and help the enlightened Princes to awaken their less enlightened brethren. In any case the Princes must find their proper place, in keeping with their exalted positions, in the imperial councils of the British Commonwealth.

We have no doubt that the leaders of the Indian public opinion will not let the Indian Rulers and their subjects to remain outside the Constitution of British India. The Chiefs Conference must be helped to grow into a Constitutional assembly and if India has an Upper House the representative of our ruling Princes must find a place on it.

In regard to the Indian Constitution, we think that in an Indian Parliament, besides a Lower House like the present Legislative Council, there should be an Upper House in which the landed aristocracy and other vested interests should be represented. The Ruling Princes will here participate in all the deliberations about foreign policy, external defence, inter State relations and all other subjects which have a direct bearing on the Indian States but should take no part in matters of finance and taxation and in legislation affecting solely British India. In the Indian Ministry or Cabinet that will be formed, the portfolio of the affairs of the Indian Ruler's States should, for some years at any rate, be invariably held by a Ruling Chief or his representative. In this connection we would strongly advise that the Government of India should have direct relations with all the Indian Ruling Chiefs, relieving the Provincial Governments that have control over many of them, of the responsibility in the matter. We need not repeat the very cogent reasons given for this transference of control by Mr. G. A. Menon in his article on "Feudatory States and Provincial Governments" in the last February issue of the "Indian Review."

A representative constitution on some such lines as roughly indicated above, could surely be framed to satisfy all the vested interests in India. As the Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, recently said, there is no human problem which is not capable of solution. The Indian Rulers and our Indian leaders should therefore join hands and, with the aid of the permanent officials who may be appealed to look at the problem from an Imperial point of view, a constitution should be worked out for India, worthy of this ancient country and the British Empire, which has been

fittingly described by Mr. Lionel Curtis as the "Commonwealth of the Nations" evolve a workable constitution for their country which should draw the best out of the Indian peoples in the cause of the great and unique British Commonwealth, and of human progress.

AN INDIAN THINKER.



FROM GHALIB

The glow of myriad hopes that groan beneath
The Lover's silence, born and slain of fate
And buried 'neath the life's scarlet wreath
The crown of longings that for fulfilment wait.

J. S.

MUSINGS AND COMMUNINGS.

This world is such a tangle (we call it a tangle because we can see only part of the Cosmos and not the whole)—this world is such a tangle, that we forget there is anything spiritual behind what we see. We no longer wonder at “wireless telegraphy.” But talk of the vibrations of the inner æther, and you provoke a smile. We feel no difficulty in believing that man has made “invisible post offices and unsubstantial pillar boxes in the void,” that “the sea is covered with a net work of unseen legends,” that human whispers “meet like secret winds” in its monstrous solitudes, and “that human words shot into the distance like arrows” can hang poised and wait like birds. But perhaps Mr. G. K. Chesterton who describes the achievements of wireless telegraphy so eloquently, will stand aghast if told that God is really greater than Marconi, and there are marvels of the spirit, and of matter too, yet undreamt of by Science.

The relatively real is not confined to what is ponderable or visible or audible. Wireless machinery handles the Hertz waves—vibratory waves of the æther,—which are over 600 feet from crest to crest. Shorten these to lengths of a few inches (70,000 micro-microns), and the medium producing such vibratory waves is called heat. Let 36,000 such

waves span an inch, and you sense them as red. Progressively shorten them, and you sense them as orange, yellow, green, blue and violet. When they are shorter they become invisible except through the fluoroscope, and are then classed as X-rays, N-rays, and Alpha, Beta and Gamma rays and rays not yet known ! The spirit irradiating the intellect has led to all these discoveries in the material world. The spirit irradiating the conscience has taught humanity the value of service and self-sacrifice and the value of meditation, and communion.

The Yogi takes to meditation, the Gnani makes himself bigger than the biggest, the Bhakt makes himself lowlier than the lowliest. In this age, there is perhaps greater need for Bhakts than for Gnanis and Yogis, and every country has been blessed with Bhakts. You find them in humble villages doing even scavengering work. And they do such work both on the material and the mental plane. The country stands in need of such humble spiritual-minded workers, who have discarded the Idols of the Tribe, the Den, the Market-place and the Theatre, who are always ready to "dig deep in order to pile high," and who never forget the Unseen.

Mr Garvin said in 1910 : "To work for pulling down property and individual enterprise is one thing. It is another thing to strive to raise the lot of the poor, to promote their physical and moral and mental efficiency by every means, to seek the wiping out utterly of the worst blots upon industrial civilisation with its weltering sloughs of dirt, disease, misery and degeneration, to lift the whole level of life and thought among the masses." No Bhakt cares for

the shibboleths of Socialism, but, if work of the above kind is Socialism, or Religious Socialism, he is a Socialist, a religious Socialist.

He wears the badge of no party and the livery of no faction. He never regards public powers, when he is in office, as private utilities. The orchard of his soul he reserves for God's own planting, but he takes its flowers to the humblest of God's children. He has no palsied heart, no jaundiced eye. His love, welling up from deep fountains, is all unconscious of itself. The gifts in which the giver forgets himself are truly Sattwic, so are the labours in which the sacrifice is greater than the wages, and the plans in which the welfare of others is the master-thought, and the good which is done for the love of doing it. A Bhakt is nothing if not Sattwic.

"Knights " in the old days, "were set apart to the service of God and man. They were sworn to speak the truth, maintain the right, protect women and the oppressed, and to practise gentleness and courtesy as well as courage." The age of chivalry is not gone. Whoever has, even in these days, " the feeling of delight as well as duty in the abandonment of a vantage-ground, the feeling that forbids a man to take advantage of his strength or of his training, and forbids a woman to stand upon her gifts, her position, and most of all, upon her sex " has the chivalrous instinct, and every true Bhakt has it. He preaches, by precept and example, peace on earth and good will to humanity. Nothing human is alien to him. He has comprehensive tolerance, and yet is as simple as a child. Of him it may be truly said:

“The smiles that win, the tints that glow,
But tell of days in goodness spent,
A mind at peace with all below,
A heart whose love is innocent.”

India, like Greece, is a “land of lost gods and godlike men,” but so long as she has its humble Bhakts, caring little for notoriety or titles and honours, and never forgetting Him, she can never become spiritually bankrupt. “It is not men’s possessions that should be equalised but their desires.” That was Aristotle’s conclusion, and Bhakts, poor and humble, carry out his precept in their own way by equalising the desire of all, as far as possible, for Him they love.

Spiritual wealth is accumulated life of a high order. It is, like all wealth, the accumulated fruits of labour—labour spiritual, but, unlike material wealth, it satisfies all wants.

“The great reward in life is.....a condition of mind, in thoughts that console and inspire, in inspirations that well up inside of us and make us glad to be alive, in impulses that drive us on to actions and courses of conduct that satisfy the demands of the spirit, no matter what the issue.” I would rather have such a condition of mind than that of a millionaire rejoicing in his money-bags and his huge balance at the Bank. A millionaire’s wife may have “a rope of pearls in her rigging, and a searchlight o’ diamonds on her forward deck, and a tiara-boom-de-ay at her masthead, and the flags of opulence flying fore and

aft," but is not almost every *millionaire* a *millstonaire*—with a millstone round his neck? An American thinker says: "There are wants whereof the satisfaction is mere indulgence, and there are others whose satisfaction means every kind of progress. If by getting money you get more and better life, you are ahead on the transaction." Money, according to him, is the incident of work—not the end of living or even of work. But whatever a man concentrates his attention on, he comes to consider his end, and hence the proverbs of almost all thoughtful nations recognise the love of money (for its own sake) as the root of all evil. It has been known to separate wife from husband, son from father, brother from brother, sister from sister, friend from friend.

Material wealth and world position follow moral wealth, in other words, self-sacrifice. A policy of self-indulgence is the very negation of human reason. The higher the morality, the greater the civic and military efficiency of a State or a nation. Those only become hewers of wood and drawers of water, who become selfish and self-indulgent, and, therefore, little capable of co-operation far less of union. That is the lesson history teaches: it is morality that determines the destiny of a nation, for low *morale* leads to inefficiency and deterioration of virility. That great historian, Livy, said in the preface to his immortal book: "The subjects to which I would ask each of my readers to devote his earnest attention are these—the life and morals of the community, the men and the qualities by which through domestic policy and foreign war dominion was won and extended. Then as the standard of morality gradually lowers, let him follow the decay of the national

character, observing how at first it slowly sinks, then slips downward more and more rapidly and finally begins to plunge into headlong ruin, until he reaches these days, in which we can bear neither our diseases nor their remedies." Livy was a true patriot and his analysis of the decline of Roman ascendancy and dominion should never be forgotten. He was proud of the past history of his country and he wrote with sorrow: "Unless I am misled by affection for my undertaking, there has never existed any commonwealth greater in power, with a purer morality, or more fertile in good examples, or any state in which avarice and luxury have been so late in making their inroads, or poverty and frugality so highly and continuously honoured, showing so clearly that the less wealth men possessed the less they coveted. In these latter years wealth has brought avarice in its train, and the unlimited command of pleasure has created in men a passion for ruining themselves and every thing else through self-indulgence and licentiousness." The history of India goes farther back into the past than that of Rome, and it may be safely said that avarice and luxury appeared after many more centuries than in Rome, but when they did appear the result was the same. Of course, there were other causes also which contributed to the downfall of India, of Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece and Rome, but they were secondary. The primary cause was low *morale* and its result inefficiency. And low *morale* generally appears when spiritual ideals lose their potency to such an extent that God is not honoured and man is not served.

A Desh Bhakt's prayer, therefore, should be: "Lead me where true men must go. Lead me where they learn the

all of life. Lead me where they raise and build again.
Lead me where in righteous strength my hands may lift
the fallen. Lead me where in just indignation I may
strike. Lead me where my tears may fall. Lead me
where my heart may find a pure desire. Make of me, in
the measure of my service and in the stature of my soul,
a man. "

A RECLUSE.

FROM GHALIB.

The fleeting images that once filled my eyes
And left them emptied of their treasured joy
Its dim reflection now imprisoned lies
In deeps of heart, like the Egyptian boy.

2

The far famed Joseph whom Zulekhan sought
Who touched her lids of love in faithful sleep.
His passing vision, wonderous Miracle wrought
Stirred the sleeping longings that lay deep.

3

Nature that made man secretly concealed
The seed of evil in the silent fire
In the hot blood of peasant it revealed
In lightening spark lightening the world's desire.

THE FIRST AND THE LAST.

(SEQUEL TO THE FORMER.)

Old Time is still a-flying ;
And the same flower that blooms to-day
To-morrow will be dying.

In nature there is no repetition. Her motto is—once, and no more. There is no second edition to her works—and she never boils her cabbages twice. The word ‘twice’ is not known to her. Of nothing in Space, of nothing in Time, can it be said—‘this was, or happened once before.’ There is eternal likeness, and also eternal difference—hence perhaps it has also been said—‘there is nothing new under the sun.’ This likeness is based on the ‘noumenon.’ This difference is refracted by ‘phenomenon.’ The former is one. The latter is many.

The one remains, the many change and pass,
Heaven’s light for ever shines, Earth’s shadows fly
Life, like a dome of many-colored glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity.

The golden disc of the sun rising above that dark hill—
Look at it. It is the first, and it is also the last. Yesterday it was one day younger. To-morrow it will have added one day more to yesterday’s seven thousand years. The

change is not perceptible but, in the meantime, the whole relative position of infinite constellations has changed.

Those gorgeous shapes of cloudland—how they flow from form to form—even as you own one quaint likeness issuing from the mould of a friend's fancy, it is already changed. It is the first, and it is also the last. It will never come again. Only once shall you

With head bent low, and cheek aslant,
See rivers flow, of gold, twixt crimson banks.

That magnificent gold-mohur, which people call the flame of the forest—not a leaf is there on it, and every flower of it glows with scarlet, and red—look at it to-day for the first, and also for the last time—for to-morrow the red and scarlet will be sprinkled over with the light green of the first tender leaves, which, while you are sleeping, will have burst their cerements to catch the first rays of to-morrow's rising sun. There is a certain last day of spring, when, before the morrow, the whole aspect of the vegetable world becomes changed, as it were, in a single night. Look again,—and

Wan they stand, and sear,
Amid the faint companions of their youth,
With dew all changed to tears, odour to sighing ruth.

The smile that beams on Hebe's cheek—look on it now—it is the first, and also the last—for while you are looking at the face, the smile has already formed a channel for the future tear—and the tear, like a river, is its own engineer, and every subsequent smile will be a little different from this—which is the first, and also the last. That lock of hair—twist it to-day for the first, and also the last time—for while you are twisting it,—see—it grows grey. You cannot lay hold on the skirt of the moment that is passing

by, nor the hour, nor the day. Each one of them is the first, and also the last—for all of them go like the light clouds on a windy day—never to return more.

Every atom of space, every iota of time, is in itself the first and the last of its kind. Only by a fiction of memory, and the law of association, can they be extended, or projected forward, so that one may say of some seeming beginning—‘this is the first’ and of some seeming ending—‘this is the last.’ The latter is but an extended polarity, like that of the magnet. The former contains within itself the true polarity, as each atom is a closed circuit.

Take your stand anywhere—at the window of a house facing the street, in a railway carriage as the train rushes, along, at a place where four roads meet at a cross road, in a field, in a plain, or in a meadow—anywhere—for, wherever you may take up your position, you shall still be in the centre of immensity. Stand but for a while, and look upon this great rushing onward of life—this eternal flux of Nature—the swift swallows winging their way across the blue—the lean cranes flying there in a semicircle—the men, the women the children—the creaking bullock cart laden with kadbi, and the cartman pulling at his chillam, or twisting the disjointed tails of his bullocks, or digging them in their lean flanks with his toe, or with his sharp-spiked bamboo stick, those brighter and grander vehicles rolling along with their fare, the cows and bulls, and lean colts, and donkeys, and goats, and buffaloes, moving in eschelon, and trailing clouds of dust as they go, the toddy trees with ragged children playing in the shade, or bringing, down with stones and clods the bastard date, the mud huts with the young Mahars disporting themselves in the sun, and eating melons in great junks—all this is a first, and also the last—

you will never see the same again. Stand again on the same spot another time, and everything will by then have been changed—all will have moved onward to another place or plane, and another relation of things.

Every thought, every feeling, whether of joy or of sorrow, every event, every occasion or circumstance, happens, or comes to a man once, and only once in his life, in exactly the same form. The thought and feeling of to-day may come again to-morrow, but there will be something different in them, or in their mental, or material environment. A change has taken place, however imperceptible, between yesterday and to-day. How swiftly, and how happily the hours sped away the last time when we passed the day in that shady grove on the bank of that rippling stream. We will go again to-morrow. We went. The grove was as green, the stream rippled as before, the same nest was hanging from the branch of the fig tree bending over the stream, the bird twittering round the nest might not have been the same bird, but it was as beautiful. But alas! a thousand other things were not the same. A thousand delicate links, and points of contact in our emotional life had been sundered, or had been shifted. It was the same, but yet how different. That last time was the first, and also the last, for nothing remains but mutability. Once only, and not again—though you may call for ever into the sibyl cave of destiny. Nothing returns—only an echo.

Once on a bright and happy day—sent down, as it were, by the gods—the beautiful Hebe made a cake. She prided herself—and justly—on her cakes—and this was the best, the *facile princeps*, the climax, the *ne-plus-ultra* of her fine handiwork—and I said—‘You will never make a

cake like this again?' Even for a Hebe, the good, the beautiful, the paragon of her sex, in whose eyes there shines a light that does not shine in the eyes of other women—the first is also the last. She did not believe it then—but another time she made another cake—and then she believed it.

Ah, what avails the sceptred race,
 Ah, what the form divine,
 What every virtue, every grace,
 All Hebe, all are thine.

Such then is the first which is also the last, as it appears reflected in this great phantasmagoria of phenomena. New—and ever new—onward—and ever onward—once only—and not again—let us seize then the passing moment as it goes rushing by, never to return again—for in being, in art, in morals, everything depends upon the opportunity, and the faculty of giving

To one brief moment, caught from fleeting time,
 The appropriate calm of blest eternity.

Fill a moment with a good act, and it shall last for ever. Wait but a little, and say 'not now'—and it is gone. Viewed in this light, the whole of Nature wears a face of eternal newness, and freshness, and beauty, and the fact of mutability is softened by the permanent feeling that another race hath been, and other palms are won. Viewed otherwise, and you have then the melancholy, though musical, Shensong singing :—

Tedious again to curse the drizzling day,
 Again to watch the wintry tracts of snow,
 Or, lapped by vernal airs, again survey
 Theselfsame hawthorns bud, and cowslips blow.

The constitution of things does not change—only the shows of things are for ever changing—as shadowed forth in Goethe's great 'summing up of things'—the greatest and the best, perhaps, that is to be found in profane literature—

Alles Vergäugliche
Ist nur ein Gleichnis ;
Das Unzulängliche
Hier wird Ereichnis ;
Das Unbeschreibliche
Hier ist's gethan ;
Das ewig Weibliche
Zieht nus hinan.

B. G. STEINHOFF.

THE GOLDEN TEMPLE.

The roads from all directions run with the swiftness of the
winged thought,

To the spot where I stand waiting for my Lord,
In the centre of things;

And every road speaks to me in breathless accents of its
panting hearts;

“Awake ! Dream no more !

Behold ! Fold thy hands in prayer to Heaven,

There, cometh Thy King riding on His Fairy Purple Steed !

Hark ! The sound of His Ride in our Breath of Life !!”

And before my eyes, rises the Golden Temple in the middle of
the Lake of Immortality,

As the sun rises out of the sea on the dark worlds,

The Gleams that its minarets shoot !

The morn that breaks !!

The music that emanates from the hearts of the earth !!

The waves of the Ocean of Immortality clad in magic smile of
the Dawn, dance with the Morning Song of Praise,

The joy floats on the surface of waters,

From the Eyes of the Priestess Divine falls a drop of dew into
the opened mouth of a thirsty flower,

It is my heart,

And my eyes close with an inspired sweetness of slumber,

My soul dies with joy,

And as the loads call me out again,

I had already gone to sleep deep as the depths of passion,
And as I lie on the marble floor of the Golden Temple,
A rain of honey softly patters down on the sleeping me,
The Bee forgets her Flower in the perfume of my death and
 hovers round my soul humming the Name of the Beloved.

Alas ! When He cometh,

I am asleep in the echoes of His Name, in the echoes of the
 joy with which the Waves of the Deep weep and like the
 sister hearts leap as many flames of fire into my soul;

Ah ! I am sound asleep,

When my King cometh to listen to the Song of His Devotees ;
And when He is gone,

I rise with a pain and a pang that I had not known before,
To a still newer and deeper " Naming Him, "
And forever more.

PURAN SINGH.

THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES.

IN the early days of the East India Company's rule in India, the spread of Education among natives did not form an integral part of State policy. Lord Castlereagh submitted to the House of Commons in 1813 a series of resolutions relative to the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company : One of these resolutions—which were embodied in an Act of Parliament, 53 Geo. III, c. 155—provided “that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits, * * * , after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, * * * a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of Literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.” This led the Court of Directors (for the first time in their annals) to address a Despatch to the Governor-General of India in Council on the 3rd of June, 1814, delineating the measures to be adopted for educating the people of India. The Government, however, was for some time afterward embarrassed financially on account of the war with Nepal and the settlement of affairs in Central India, and

did not find itself in a position to give early effect to the provisions of the Despatch. Meanwhile, Parliament and various non-official societies were enquiring about the state of things in reference to education in India ; Government prepared itself to face the situation, and as it became evident that " some organisation was required—if only to disburse the grant," a General Committee of Public Instruction was constituted in Bengal in 1823, composed of ten members of the Civil Service, *viz.*, Messrs. J. H. Harrington, J. P. Larkins, W. B. Martin, W. B. Bayley, H. Shakespear, Holt Mackenzie, Henry T. Prinsep, A. Stirling, J. C. C. Sutherland, with Mr. H. H. Wilson as secretary ; the first president was Mr. Harrington, and the last Sir Edward Ryan. A few years later, on the 10th March, 1826, a similar Committee was formed in Madras in accordance with the proposal of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of the Presidency ; that same year an Education Society was established in Bombay. For the purposes of administration it was found convenient to divide the country into nine educational circles ; this was done in 1839. In the meanwhile, Lord William Bentinck was busy devising means for the establishment of an improved and comprehensive system of national education. In order " to know, with all attainable accuracy, the present state of instruction in native institutions and in native society " Mr. William Adam was appointed Government Commissioner of Education in 1835. The vernacular teachers of Bengal and Behar, it appears from Mr. Adam's reports, earned at that time an average monthly professional income of Rs. 2-15-7 " not above one half of what is usually given in Calcutta to the lowest menials or domestic servants ! " The average earning of Persian teachers varied from Rs. 8-14 in Murshidabad to Rs. 3 in Tirhoot.

In a memo. bearing date the 12th of January 1842, it was announced that the Governor-General in Council was pleased to resolve that the institutions founded and maintained by Government for the diffusion of education should be brought more directly under Government control; it accordingly came to pass that the General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced by a Council of Education which comprised the members of the defunct General Committee. "The general and financial business of the Department of Education" was "assumed by the Government and the Council of Education...maintained for purposes of reference and advice upon all matters of important administration and correspondence, retaining under the directions of the Government the supervision now established over the institutions in the Presidency". The Local Committees which had been acting under the directions of the general Committee were at the same time advised to address their reports and references direct to the Secretary of the Government of India in the General Department. It was about this time that the General Committee of Public Instruction in Madras gave place to a Council of Education. In the North-Western Provinces educational affairs continued to be managed by the Government of India through the Local Committees of Public Instruction till 1843, when the control of funds was, in pursuance of a Resolution of the Government of India dated 29th April 1843, transferred to the then newly formed Government at Agra.

It is perhaps generally known that the very first efforts of Government were directed to the dissemination among natives of a knowledge of the vernacular literatures. Without going into tiresome details it will suffice to note tha

arrangements were made at the outset for educational institutions in Bengal to be subjected to periodical inspection by Collectors and Revenue Commissioners. With the spread of the area of work it was thought advisable to appoint a Visitor-General on Rs. 800/- a month; Zillah Visitors were appointed on Rs. 100/-, and pergunnah visitors on Rs. 30/-. Pergunnah School-masters appointed under this system earned salaries at the rate of Rs. 25/- per mensem, and those of a lower order at the rate of Rs. 16/-. It has been noted above that the Education Department underwent a change of control in 1842; notwithstanding this change, it had not yet been placed on a satisfactory footing. Men entrusted with the noble task of imparting instruction to youths—with a few notable and highly honourable exceptions—were themselves lacking education properly so called; it is not to be wondered at that they should at times evince a singular inaptitude for the charge they had undertaken. An Inspector of Colleges and Schools had been appointed on the 15th June, 1844. The report which Mr. E. Lodge, who was the second to hold that post, submitted to the Council of Education throws a good deal of light on the salaries and acquirements of members of the Educational Service of that period which is far from commendable. The quotation below may be interesting :

“ At nearly every school, one or two late students are acting as junior masters on small salaries of 10 or 15 Rs. a month. These are only of a very little use for a short time, they do not look to the education service for future employment, but quit it for something better just as they begin to be efficient, when other new hands take their places. Besides they do a positive injury by giving to many, who might be applicants for the situations on a higher salary,

the idea that they are filled up, No native who can write his name or read a line in English, will be content on 15/- Rs. a month, but a fair man would be secured for 25/- with the inducement of 40/- and 60/- to be obtained afterwards by his own exertions.....I have seldom asked a question from one regarding the progress of his class, but the answer has been calculated to give me a wrong impression, and on examining further, has always had to undergo much modification before it was correct. If he can contrive to convey information to his pupils by sign or by whisper, or by exposing an answer on a slate, he does it, so that I have frequently to get him away altogether, before I can proceed with the examination of his pupils. The Pundits and Munshis who do not understand English are almost worthless. They are unable to teach a class or keep one in order by themselves”.

It should be borne in mind that the attractions for service in the Educational line were rather few, and the prospects generally held out even for responsible posts not at all alluring. Principals of Colleges got Rs. 400 to Rs. 600 a month for salary, while the salaries of Professors varied from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 a month; European Head Masters were appointed on Rs. 200 to Rs. 300; assistant masters, both European and native, got Rs. 25 to Rs. 200 or thereabout. There was no fixed scale of pay, and prospects were not assured. Government was all along aware of these defects in the department and in a circular (No. 27) dated the 5th February, 1845, promulgated certain rules for the examination of candidates for employment and promotion in the Education Department. A Committee was accordingly formed in Bengal consisting of the Secretary to the Council of Education, the Secretary to the Madrasa, the Inspector of Colleges

and Schools, the Principals and Head Masters of the Hindu and Hooghly Colleges and the Professors of Literature and Mathematics in those Colleges. It was decided that "all candidates for employment as teachers in Government Institutions shall be ranked in four classes. The fourth and lowest class.....will be considered eligible to situations, of which the salary is from 10 to 50 Rupees amonth. The third...shall be eligible to situations, of which the salary is from 50 to 150 rupees a month. The second class.....from 150 to 250 rupees a month. None shall compose the first or highest class but those who are capable of imparting the highest order of instruction required in the Government Schools, or who possess in an eminent degree an acquaintance with the principles and practice of an enlightened method of teaching and eminent acquirements either in Literature or Science. These shall be eligible to situations of Rs. 250 and upwards, to the Head masterships of Schools and Colleges... No master shall be promoted from a lower to a higher grade upon the occurrence of a vacancy...until his qualifications shall have been ascertained by the Committee, in accordance with the standard fixed".

This Circular went a great way towards raising the status of teachers and drawing capable men to the Service. But it was in 1854 that the foundation-stone was laid of the Educational Services as we have them now. The ever-memorable Despatch of Sir Charles Wood declared that Government intended "to place the superintendence and direction of Education upon a more systematic footing", and it was accordingly "determined to create an Educational Department as a portion of the machinery of our Governments in the several Presidencies of India. We accordingly propose that an officer shall be appointed for each Presidency and Lieutenant Governorship who shall be specially charged with the

management of the business connected with education and be immediately responsible to the Government for its conduct." It was further formulated that "a sufficient number of qualified Inspectors be appointed. A proper staff of clerks and other officers will, moreover, be required for the educational departments". Before the end of 1856 the new system had started to work. The separate departments took nearly twelve years to form from 1854-55 in the larger provinces to 1866-67 in the Haidarabad Assigned Districts. In each province a Director of Public Instruction was appointed, and a staff of Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors worked under him. It was resolved that these duties should in the beginning be entrusted to gentlemen of the Covenanted Civil Service. Accordingly the earliest appointed Directors of Public Instruction in Bengal (Mr. Gordon Young), Bombay (Mr. J. C. Erskine) and Madras (Mr. A.J. Arbuthnot) were all Civilians. After the East India Company had itself disappeared, this Charter of 1854 and the principles it had enunciated were confirmed by the Secretary of State (Lord Stanley) in his Despatch dated 7th April, 1859. Speaking of the evolution of the Educational System in India, Mr. Arthur Howell truly observed, "Education in British India was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous, and finally placed on its present footing."

In the early part of 1864 a scheme was recommended to the Government of India for the reorganisation of the upper branch of the Educational Service. It received the sanction of the Secretary of State in a Despatch dated the 9th December of that year and came into operation in Bengal on the 1st July, 1865. The scheme included

officers receiving salaries of Rs. 500 and above who were classified as follows:

1. A Director of Public Instruction on Rs. 2,000-50-Rs. 2,500.
2. Two First Class Officers on Rs. 1,250 rising to Rs. 1,500 by an increment of Rs. 50 after the first year, and of Rs. 100 in the two following years.
3. Six Second Class Officers on Rs. 1,000 rising to Rs. 1,250 by annual increments similar to those in the preceding class.
4. Ten Third Class Officers on Rs. 750 rising to Rs. 1,000 by an annual increase of Rs. 50 after each of the first two years and of Rs. 75 after each of the two subsequent years.
5. Thirteen Fourth Class Officers on Rs. 500-50-Rs. 750.

This system was extended to the other provinces in the succeeding five or six years.

The average value of an educational appointment in the graded service thus appears to have been rather less than Rs. 900 per mensem. Still, at this comparatively low rate, it had been "found possible to attract to an educational career in India many men of considerable distinction at the English Universities and of the highest academical rank." Indians who by virtue of their educational qualifications appeared to have the fitness for higher work found places in the graded service : of late years they been so employed in increasing numbers. It was brought to the notice of the Education Commission which sat in 1882 that "according to recent orders of the Secretary of State a native officer when appointed to the graded service is allowed to draw only two-thirds of the ordinary pay of the grades. It has happened in more than one instance that the officer so

promoted already draws a pay of Rs. 500 a month which is the minimum pay of the 4th Class on the ordinary scale. Consequently his promotion to that class on the reduced scale involves a considerable reduction in his income." The Commission recommended that when an officer is thus promoted to the higher service his promotion should not involve any loss of pay.

The subordinate officers of the Education Department in Bengal, consisting of teaching and inspecting officers in almost equal proportion and a certain number of clerks who had been drawing salaries of Rs. 50 a month and upwards, were classified as follows, in 1878.

Class I	consisting of 6 officers	@	Rs.	400-500
" II	" " 10	"	" "	300-400
" III	" " 25	"	" "	200-300
" IV	" " 40	"	" "	150-200
" V	" " 60	"	" "	100-150
" VI	" " 75	"	" "	75-100
" VII	" " 100	"	" "	50-75

In Bombay all subordinate Educational officers drawing salaries of Rs. 30 to Rs. 300 had already been graded in five classes. There were thirty Deputy Inspectors who by themselves formed a separate graded service.

The Educational services in their present form came into existence in consequence of certain recommendations made by the Public Services Commission of 1886-87. The proposed reorganisation was effected by a resolution of the Government of India dated the 23rd July, 1896; one of the results being that the superior service was broken up into two branches, so that Europeans and Indians were virtually separated in the higher branches of the Department. Four

graded services were called into being as noted below, provision having been made for the creation of posts outside these services for officers performing special duties :

(1) Indian Educational Service,—which is recruited by the Secretary of State in England and is composed almost entirely of Europeans. The initial salary is Rs. 500 per month, rising to Rs. 1,000 in ten years. Members of the Indian Educational Service can choose between the career of a professor and that of an educational administrator. The Directors of Public Instruction are placed outside the cadre, and draw special salaries, the highest being Rs. 2,500. Officers of the Indian Educational Service are allowed facilities, while on furlough, to study the theory and practice of all branches of education all over the world; this induces in them a thorough acquaintance with the progress of education in other countries.

(2) Provincial Educational Service. This branch is recruited by local governments and is chiefly composed of Indians. In some provinces, as in Bengal, there is a regular grading from Rs. 200 to Rs. 700. Members of this service fill the posts of Inspectors, Assistant Inspectors, Principals, Professors, Head Masters of High, and normal, schools, etc.

(3) Subordinate Educational Service. This branch is also recruited by local governments, and is composed almost entirely of Indians. The initial pay is Rs. 50; in several provinces there are eight grades, the highest being Rs. 250. Officers of this service do the duties of Deputy Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Lecturers, Head Masters, Assistant Masters, and Clerks.

(4) The fourth or Lower Subordinate Service exists only in certain provinces and is composed of officers of inferior qualifications,—generally on less than Rs. 50 per month.

In all branches of the above scheme, which was at the beginning made applicable to all provinces except Burma, Assam, Berar and Coorg, full pension is earned after thirty years of service.

So long back as 1867, when Mr. Monteath prepared his Minute reviewing the condition of education in all the provinces of the Empire, it had been suggested that a Director General or Minister of Education should be appointed for the whole of India, if it could be done without unduly restraining the independence of the local Directors and “without sacrificing vitality to overstrained uniformity.” The matter was given no serious consideration at the time, as it was feared that it might lead to undesirable centralisation of authority. After the lapse of about thirty years the subject was prominently brought to the notice of Government : it appeared worth the trouble and expense to bring into a focus the reports of work done by the various provinces and sum up in a separate report the progress made in education throughout India, as well as to provide the provincial Directorates with a common ideal to aim at; a Director-General of Education was accordingly appointed in March 1902. The post was afterwards abolished in 1910; and in its stead was created a new Department of Education in the Government of India, with its Member and Secretaries.

The graded services, from the highest to the lowest, have, it is said, their own imperfections; and they have formed a just subject of criticism at various times by

persons intimately connected with the Department and eminently competent to judge. The palpable anomaly of grading principals, professors, and inspectors of schools in the same service—the Indian Educational Service,—cannot be gainsaid. “In the Provincial Service are found, as in the Indian Service, principals and professors of colleges, demonstrators in science, headmasters and inspectors of schools; and, in addition, translators to Government and incumbents of other anomalous posts. In the subordinate and lower Subordinate Services are graded promiscuously head and assistant masters, subordinate inspecting officers, gymnastic instructors, librarians, members of the various clerical establishments, store-keepers, circle pandits, master-blacksmiths, and reformatory guards and escorting officers.” The Public Services Commission appointed by Royal Charter in 1912 gave the matter their serious consideration and recommended, so far as the superior service was concerned, “that the officers now serving in each province be regrouped into separate bodies, according as they belong (i) to the administrative branch, or (ii) to a particular college—each college being regarded as a separate unit for this purpose—or (iii) hold special appointments not comprised in either of these two classes”. It is to be hoped that a Department which has had on its rolls such illustrious luminaries in the domain of science and literature as Sir Alexander Grant, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Sir John Eliot, Sir Alexander Pedler, Dr. C. R. Wilson, Dr. Georg Buhler and F. Kielhorn,—to name only a few—will, ere long, receive at the hands of the authorities, a recognition worthy of its tradition and achievements, it should at the same time be borne in mind that the

amelioration of our people depends to a large extent upon the work done by the Educational Department.

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THE TRUE AIM OF LIFE AND EDUCATION.

Our ideas of life vary with our religious notions and disposition of mind. The religious ascetic practises austerities, mortifies his passions and denounces sensual pleasures. The epicure or man of pleasure sets the highest value on eating, drinking and being merry. The Yogi, or religious devotee, cuts off all connection with worldly affairs, becomes a recluse, and devotes himself to the contemplation of God and Nature. The worldly man immerses himself in the world without any thought of spiritual matters. The village artisan and the farmer, from the very nature of their occupations, bestow no special thought on the improvement of their minds. The philosopher or the learned man confines himself to abstract thinking and the cultivation of his mind, taking little care for manly sports and the development of physical powers. According to a Persian proverb every individual according to the best of his powers is made in his own thought. The highest aim of life should be the harmonious development of all our faculties, physical, intellectual and spiritual. We proceed now to show how the common attributes of life led by the several classes of people mentioned, may be corrected and co-related so as to ensure attainment of perfection to an extent now practically impossible.

Does the life of the anchorite present a complete view of its true aim? Does he not owe a duty to his fellow men, and hinders its fulfilment when he remains aloof from all intercourse with them? It is through knowledge, work and faith (Gian, Karma and Bhakti) that a religious devotee can expect to realise the object of his contemplation. A firm faith in the goodness of God based upon rational knowledge and fructified into practical holiness, is the best means of attaining perfection. Combined with a due performance of our duties—duties to ourselves, to our fellow-creatures and to God. Faith without knowledge is liable to become blind, work without a knowledge of our duties is liable to become misdirected and aimless, mere knowledge without faith has an atheistical and demoralising tendency, and faith without practice is worth nothing. The life of a religious devotee must, therefore, be practical, and contemplative—benevolent and devotional.

As to the life of a man of pleasure poets and moralists have depicted in glowing colours its utter hollowness. The epicurean doctrine as a means of attaining true happiness is opposed to the principle of morality and rational enjoyment. It cannot be said, however, that pleasures should be altogether avoided in any scheme of life. Pleasure is a sort of relief to labour. Over indulgence defeats its own object. A continuous round of pleasures cannot afford true happiness or satisfaction.

The man of business seeks happiness in the acquisition of wealth and worldly prosperity. Wealth no doubt is the principal means of securing comfort and ease. It ministers to our pleasures, increases our comfort, multiplies our resources and not infrequently alleviates our pains. It has

been said that one cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. It does not mean that a proper and judicious acquisition and use of wealth is ungodly, or that an unostentatious and sincere devotion to God is inconsistent with good fortune. Pride of wealth often leads to irreligion and vice. Wealth, like pleasure, is a means to an end. But when it becomes an end in itself it leads to sin and sorrow. It is right knowledge that makes every thing subservient to the needs of life.

Poverty has a chastening as well as a demoralising effect. It has its advantages as well as disadvantages. Every condition of life, be it high or low has its share of inconveniences and anxieties. Life in all stages has its peculiar blessings. Its blessings serve to neutralise its curses. The rich and the great admire the simplicity of pastoral life, the quiet tranquility and the natural scenery of the country. The peasant seems to pant after the pomp, the hustle, and tumult of cities.

True wisdom consists in the practical application of knowledge concerning God, Soul, and Nature, and the discharge of duties in the light of this higher knowledge. It is the province of the wise man to discover truth and dispel the darkness of superstition and falsehood. He must be true to himself and his God-given intelligence. It is this spirit of rationalism which has remedied the three fundamental errors of the olden time, errors which made the people in politics too confiding, in science too credulous, in religion too intolerant. The higher knowledge helps us to rise above the narrow code of creed without being terrified by the fear of future punishment or hope of reward; content with such practical religion as consists in performing the

duties of life allowing the soul to retire upon itself and seek in contemplation the Being of beings, the supremè cause of all.

Thus the true aim of life is the working out of the high ideal embracing that two-fold perfection of the individual both as an individual and as a social being.

Let us then be up and doing.
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing
Learn to labour and to wait."

The true aim of Education is to equip for a true life. The subject may be divided into two heads: —

(1). What constitutes real education (2) and true instruction.

According to Herbert Spencer knowledge has a two-fold value:—its value as discipline or mental training, and its value as positive acquisition. Our mental faculties have to be sharpened and a stock of knowledge has to be acquired. In order that these two objects may be accomplished during the short career of general education, the aim of education should be both spiritual and material aiming at the perfect development of the individual, and the acquisition of wisdom. There is a vast difference between knowledge and wisdom. The most knowing of men is not necessarily the most perfect or wise man. The province of knowledge is to furnish our mind with materials of information, that of wisdom is to utilise and turn them to account. The one may be compared with the material of a building and the other with the architect employing them. The application of meditation both to study and observation is the best means of obtaining wisdom

Whether in the province of intellect or that of morals, its influence for good is vast. The marvellous productions of art and science, from the invention of a telescope to the manufacture of a match, are the combined results of research and meditation. Education does not mean simply the culture of mind. It embraces the improvement of our physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual faculties. Meditation has a large share in enlightening our mind and soul. It unlocks the treasures of psychic and moral truths. It is the best safeguard against immorality and vice. It leads to the formation of character which is the principal object of education. A systematic and regular habit of reflection cannot but lead to originality, research and general thoughtfulness.

The existing system of University education fails because:—(1) It does not make an adequate provision for moral training. (2) It tends to foster a spirit of cramming. The Government of India, some time ago, issued circulars on the subject of the moral training of students, laying down certain rules about the selection of ethical text books, discipline and inter-school rules for transfer of students from one institution to another. These regulations do not appear to have produced the desired effect. They have produced only one effect, *viz.*, the rigid realisation of fees and fines from the students. It should be borne in mind that as regards physical and moral training much depends upon the students themselves. As they cannot become good athletes without undergoing systematic physical training, so their morals cannot improve without religious practices. The morals can no more be improved by mere study of ethical text-books than a nation can be rendered virtuous by an Act of Parliament. The

same observation applies to the matter of originality. It is more a personal than a transferred gift. Genius is self-made. It flies on its own wings; natural and self-begotten. There are certain conditions which favour its free and unfettered development. It is extremely doubtful whether geniuses like Shakespeare and Milton, Newton and Gladstone could have flourished in any other country than England, the land of genuine freedom. It is as impossible for the proud and the rich to enter the kingdom of heaven as it is for the camel to go through the eye of a needle. The countries whose sun is set do not produce great men. India has had its days of glory and its great men like Manu and Yajnavalkya, Kalidas and Bhababhuti, and Gargya. Neither the dark age of Mohamedan rule nor the enlightened period of British administration can point to a single instance of genuine originality among the children of India as can catch their illustrious forefathers except that of Dr. J.C. Bose. The British Government is doing a great deal to foster the growth of good education among the people but the real education both moral and intellectual must begin at home, and it is our homes which, from basement to floor, must be reconstructed to afford a happy, healthy environment for the coming generations.

K. C. KANJI LAL, B. L.

6th January 1917.

MOSS.

(SOME WAR WORK. THE WOMEN'S PART.)

On the South-West coast of England, in a town more favoured by nature than almost any other town in England, two strangers walked—I was one of them, the other was my friend.

Notwithstanding the rare blue of the sky and sea, the wooded hills rearing themselves out of the blue, and the white foreign-looking villas dotted about over the seven hills on which the town was built, we could not keep away from that tyrannizing subject, the War. Things had not looked very bright in the morning's paper. There was a wave of pessimism passing over the country, and that weak, despondent cry was heard on all sides: "Oh, when will it end?" As though the question could ever be answered!

Presently we met an acquaintance. She seemed in a hurry, but stopped to say a few words. "Do you think the war will ever be over?" I was unable to resist asking her. She looked at me for a moment with deep, faithful, dog-like brown eyes, the lines about them prematurely marked, and then she said: "Come with me to the Work Depot." I looked at my friend, she nodded, and we quickened our pace and walked up the hill with a new sense of satisfaction—we now had a purpose.

In course of time we came to an empty house where we turned in. First there was a short passage, then a hall where a lady in white apron and army cap mounted guard over a visitor's book, but not in idleness, her fingers were busy crocheting the string sole of a slipper.

"You had better go round all the rooms," said our acquaintance, "before making up your minds where you would like to work."

"What do you do?" I asked her.

"I! Oh, moss dressings! I'm the moss maniac. That's what they call me here." A smile was on her lips and a queer, distant look in her eyes as she murmured: "One loves it so, the moss."

She disappeared up the stairs and my soul followed her with a question.

"You will have to wear aprons and caps and sleeves," said the lady doorkeeper, and I awoke and looked at her.

"We can supply them for you, if you like," she added.

"Thank you. Yes please, I mean."

"And then you must come and wash your hands in carbolic before you begin work. That is the rule."

For a second the arbitrariness of the orders sent a twinge of rebellion through my independent nature, then good sense prevailed and I followed my friend into the dressing-room. After a few minutes, washed, and clothed in immaculate whiteness, we emerged, new beings---Workers---and were escorted through the different rooms to make our decision.

First, we came to the slipper room, in which slippers of all sizes and colours and shapes were in the making, marvellous examples of accuracy and deftness of finger. "I'm sorry there are not more to show you," said the superintendent who wore a red satin band round her arm with the badge of the room. "We've just sent off 500 pairs and now we've got a new order for 500 more. We want workers badly in this room, will you not stay and help us?" My friend took a seat and was immediately immersed in work but I shook my head. Filled with admiration as I was for the superb quality of the work, my mind was already made up.

We climbed the wooden stairs and entered the swab room. Here were being made swabs of two different sizes, small flat ones 3 inches square, and large ones more than four times as big, for abdominal operations. The completed ones were kept stowed away in a cupboard in sets of twelve sewn up in muslin bags. Amongst them I noticed another species, round tomato-shaped productions, but equally neat in finish. Helpers were wanted in this room also, one hospital alone commandeered 5,000 swabs a week, but I explained that I was on my way to the moss room.

"Up at the top of the house! That little room!" was the astonished exclamation. "You won't like that. It's such a dull little room. You'd much better stay here."

"I don't mind the dulness" I replied. "I've set my heart on the moss."

The lady smiled on me. It was the smile one gives a child when it runs after the shadows.

Next I came to the bandage room, a large room with three long tables and many workers. The superintendent showed me a fine collection ready to send off, small limb, stump, shoulder, hip, capeline, T, abdominal, many-tail, all set with absolute precision to the twentieth part of an inch and beautifully finished off and feather stitched.

It was not idle curiosity which prompted me to inspect each room in turn before going to my selected destination. I genuinely wished to see the work and the way it was done. The perfection of it was a sheer delight to look upon. Each thing that was accomplished in this busy house was a perfect thing in its own way. It was the expression of infinite care and painstaking on the part of the workers and splendid organization on the part of the heads.

Perhaps the most wonderful of all was the splint padding room. Here were splints of all conceivable devices; some plain and straight, others jointed and movable and of every shape and size human ingenuity could evolve. Of all the varied and rare complications arising from shell wounds, bullet wounds, crushed and shattered limbs, hardly one but could be catered for here. I gazed in silence at these strange sad appliances, and the wonderful exactitude with which they were padded and covered—not an irregularity anywhere, not a stitch or a knot out of place. Truly, this was art, not merely handiwork.

After expressing my admiration I took my leave, and this was the only room where I was not invited to stay, the work was too skilled to be entrusted to a stranger.

Other rooms were devoted to the making of dressing gowns, shirts and pyjamas, all of which bore the stamp of professional, cutting and sewing; yet there was not a

worker in the depot who was not voluntarily giving her time and labour for the cause she had at heart.

At the top of the stairs was a small room devoted to the repairing and remaking of linen. Old sheets were cut up and made into draw sheets or pillow cases, table cloths were patched or finely darned, remnants too small or not required for patching were cut up and made into bags for rest pillows or moss dressings; nothing was left unused. Machines were going briskly, three or four at once, and though the workers were few there was a feeling of business in the air, not hurry but the steady employment of time to best advantage.

Now, in the remotest corner of the building, under the roof and indifferently lighted with only one window at the extreme end, we came to the room of the spagnum moss. The atmosphere of activity which had characterised the other rooms was non-existent here, there was a quietness, an insignificance, an entire absence of show which in the first instant was disappointing. One had expected so much.

"D'you think you'll stay here?" my guide asked doubtfully and looking at me with a slightly commiserating air.

"Oh, yes!" I answered, determined not to be disillusioned.

She left, me and I seated myself at the table in front of a cardboard box filled with moss.

My acquaintance of the faithful brown eyes looked up and gave me a welcoming smile, then went on with her work.

A slight sense of depression, the harbinger of disillusionment, came over me as I looked at the yellow green moss in its commonplace cardboard box. This the moss that

grew on the moorlands, that had flourished century after century in the great open spaces of the world, with nothing between it and the vault of Heaven, the moss whose healing properties were known three centuries ago in the Highland districts, and only now being rediscovered by the medical scientists on their way back to nature ! Somehow, it was disappointing. The grandeur which it really possessed was not evident, did not impress itself upon one as one had imagined it would, knowing its inherent worth and the romantic character of its origin.

The sense of repose which I had felt on first entering the room was very insistent now. The elaborate completeness of the work downstairs had left me fatigued, as though I had myself been struggling and labouring to attain to the high standard required. Here, on the other hand, I found myself returning to nature in all her beautiful simplicity. Just little bits of moss pulled up from the marshy places of the moorlands, but with this wonderful power for healing that one touched it almost with reverence. As my fingers ran up and down the little sprays, lightly picking out bits of stick or mud or blades of grass, I thought of the wounds they were going to heal and it seemed as though the power were coming through me into it and then back again into me. Strange unaccountable illusion.

In Germany the virtue of spagnum moss was first brought to light by a curious chance. A "jaeger" (hunter) in some remote country district met with an accident. Pending the arrival of the doctor his wife staunched the blood and dressed the wound with some moss she happened to find handy. Seeing how well the man was doing the wise young doctor ordered the treatment to be continued, and

it proved so successful that the wound was completely healed in an incredibly short space of time. Delighted with the success of his case the enthusiastic young surgeon published an account of it in a medical journal, and from that day forth the fame of the moss grew, until it was not only collected in its indigenous places, but cultivated in large quantities like other medicinal plants.

When I had been an hour or so in the room my acquaintance of the faithful eyes got up to go. In passing, she placed her hand on my shoulder and said: "Do you like the moss?"

"Yes," I answered, "It's wonderful."

"It heals," she murmured; and then drawing in her breath and half closing her lids she added in a voice hardly louder than a whisper: "body and soul."

I raised my eyes and turned my head to follow her but she had gone and the door was closed. I sat on in silence until the light waned, when I realized that I had been working for over two hours. Slipping away quietly I walked down the stairs and into the dressing-room. Before taking my departure I looked into the slipper room. My friend had already left, the time had evidently gone slower with her. Light-hearted and with a resolution to come again I stepped out into the street and walked home at a brisk pace.

For the next three days I was otherwise engaged, but on the fourth I went back to the depot and seated myself again before what seemed to me the same cardboard box and the same moss. A figure, which appeared familiar to me, sat in the darkest corner of the room. The shoulders seemed a little bent and the head drooped languidly, but

the fingers worked without ceasing. After a while the weariness of attitude suggested a question in my mind. This moss, so rich in iodine and curative properties, might it not also possess the virtue of bringing sleep to the sleepless.

The head of the room was finishing off a little rest pillow stuffed with the loose ends of the moss, one of those little comforting cushions which can be used anywhere to ease the position of an aching limb. I asked her if she had ever heard of moss pillows being used to induce sleep.

"No," she answered, "but I don't see why they shouldn't, it would be worth trying."

Presently the tired figure from the end of the room got up and moved towards the door—it was my acquaintance of the dog like eyes. She did not see me, her lids seemed too heavy to raise, but I noticed dark rims under her eyes and two thin lines about her mouth which I had not seen before. She went towards the door, but as she reached it an idea seemed to come to her, and she turned and said to the lady with the red badge on her arm: "I wonder if I might have one of those little pillows to take home with me!"

"I'm very sorry, but I'm afraid I can't let you have one, I wish I could, without asking the Commandant, and she isn't here to-day.

The door closed and a heavy tread crossed the boarded landing, echoing dully through the house. A second later the head of the room got up and went out, her quick light steps with their little click of heels contrasting strangely with those that had gone before.

When she returned, after a few minutes, she took a seat beside me, and I noticed that the pillow was no longer in her hand.

"You know Mrs. M—?" she began.

"I have met her once or twice," I answered.

"Had you heard?"

"What?"

"Her boy, just fifteen, her only child, gone down with the——."

My hands dropped and the spray of moss fell unfinished into the box.

"Her husband twelve months ago and now this child....." After a few minutes she continued:

"Yet she goes on with her work and I have never once heard her complain."

Her voice changed suddenly as she added rather abruptly "I gave her the pillow."

"I'm glad", I said. "She loves the moss."

"And it heals," she added.

"Body and Soul."

H. CLAYTON EAST.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE United States of America is a Federal Republic and is a Commonwealth of Commonwealths as there are 49 Republican States and a central, national, Federal Republic. The most striking and pervading feature of the American political system, as Bryce says "is the existence of a double Government, a double allegiance, and a double patriotism." The States are not mere minor divisions of the country like the counties of England and the departments of France, formed for administrative purposes. The English counties and French departments are creatures of the central government exercising subordinate powers delegated by the national government, but the American States have an independent authority over their citizens and enjoy all the attributes of sovereignty as independent States save those delegated by them to the Federal Government for national purposes. Each State elects its legislature which is bi-cameral and its executive head, the Governor. The American Constitution is a written constitution of the 'rigid' type. The American Federal system is different from that of the unitary system of the European countries with the exception of Germany.

The most outstanding feature of the American National Government—as well as of State Governments—is the

vesting of power in three separate and independent authorities, the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. This cardinal principle has been laid down by the Constitution of 1789 and forms the fundamental maxim of the American political system. It is a very remarkable fact that the American system has in all its essentials undergone little or no change during the past century and a quarter since its inception, whereas almost all European Governments have been subject to fundamental and drastic changes and modifications. That the government of the most democratic country should for so long a period have remained stable in its main structure and framework is due to the remarkable foresight of the framers of the Constitution, which "ranks above every other written Constitution for the intrinsic excellence of its scheme, its adaptation to the circumstances of the people, the simplicity, brevity and precision of its language, its judicious mixture of definiteness in principle with elasticity in details." *

Powers and Functions of the Federal or National Government.

The National or Federal government exercises supreme powers relating to matters common to the whole nation, the chief being war and peace; treaties and foreign relations; Army and Navy; Commerce, foreign and inter-State; Federal Courts of Justice; Currency; Post office and post roads; Copyright and Patents; Taxation for these purposes and the general support of the Government; and the protection of citizens against unjust or discriminating legislation by any State. The main objects of the framers of the Constitution in dividing the National Government into

* The American Commonwealth, Bryce; Vol. I, P. 28.

three independent organs—*vis*:—the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary to ensure its excellence were vigour and efficiency, independence of each of its departments, the dependence of the Government upon the people, and the security under it of the freedom of the individual.

The Executive—The President.

Executive powers are concentrated in a single hand, the President, who is elected every four years and is eligible for re-election. He is elected by an electoral college in each State who are chosen on a general ticket by all the voters to vote for a particular candidate. The votes of the electoral groups in all the States are counted and the candidate who has received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes cast is declared President. The electoral body does only the formal task of registering the votes collectively, as it is the popular vote that decides the matter. The total popular vote cast in the presidential election of 1912 was fifteen millions. A presidential election is the most exciting event in American politics. "The parties nominate their respective candidates; a tremendous campaign of stump speaking, newspaper writing, street parades, and torchlight processions sets in and rages for about four months; the polling for electors takes place early in November, on the same day over the whole Union, and when the result is known the contest is over, because the subsequent meeting and voting of the electors in their several States is a mere matter of form."

The President must be thirty-five years of age and a native citizen of the United States. He receives a salary of £15,000 and a travelling allowance of £5,000 per year. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy (and of

the militias when they are in Federal service) and commissions all officers therein; appoints Cabinet officers and all the chief officials with the consent of the Senate; supervises and controls the Federal Administration, enforces Federal laws and suppresses disorder in the States if his aid is invoked; conducts the foreign policy of the Republic, and with the approval of the Senate, negotiates treaties with foreign powers; makes recommendations to Congress and when laws are passed by the Congress he may veto them. But a vetoed measure if again passed by both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds majority in each House, it becomes law.

In times of peace his powers are great while in times of war they are enormous and he becomes practically a dictator. President Wilson, now that America has entered the War, wields dictatorial powers even as Lincoln did during the War of Secession. The Prime Minister in a parliamentary system can be turned out of office by a hostile majority in the popular chamber but the President is independent of the Congress during his four year tenure of office. As he does not sit in the Congress and cannot initiate or pass legislation like the British or French ministry, he recommends measures by means of messages addressed to Congress. On entering office the President issues an inaugural address expressing his views on current political questions. As the President is elected by and directly responsible to the people, his authority actual and potential is very great, and the veto is freely exercised without any fear of popular displeasure.

The Cabinet.

The American Cabinet consists of heads of departments called Secretaries. There are eleven departments—State,

Treasury, War, Legal, Post, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labour. Each of these Secretaries receives a salary of £ 2,400 a year. The Secretaries are all nominees of the President who can remove them at will. They do not sit in the Legislature and have no direct influence over Congress. In this respect the American Cabinet differs from the English or French Cabinet. Neither the Secretaries guide the Legislature nor are they controlled by it. The State and the Interior Departments correspond to the Foreign and Home Departments of England. There are special bodies like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Tariff Board, etc., acting under the President, dealing with railway regulation, central banking, and the tariff questions. Committees of Congress, especially committees of the House of Representatives do much of the work that is done in Europe by ministers and other departmental heads.

The House of Representatives.

Legislative power is vested in the Congress which has two branches, the House of Representatives, and the Senate, the former being the large and popular chamber, the latter a small second chamber.

The House of Representatives, the popular chamber, is elected for *two* years by direct universal suffrage. It now consists of 440 members of whom five are delegates representing Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines with powers to sit and speak but not vote. Each Representative receives a salary of £1,500 per annum; £300 for Secretary hire, a sum for stationery, and an allowance of 20 cents per mile for travelling expenses. Payment for members has existed from the earliest days.

The number of Representatives is fixed on a population basis, and New York has 43 members, Pennsylvania 36, Illinois 27, Ohio 22, Texas 18, Massachusetts and Missouri each 16. It is interesting to note that of the 440 Representatives now sitting, 240 are lawyers, public officials 79, bankers 15, editors 6, farmers 19, and manufacturers 11. Most of the lawyers who are members have dropped law as a calling and are full time politicians.

Every Congress has two sessions, a long and a short session, the working period extending to about twelve months in two years. The House generally meets at noon and sits till four or six in the evening, all night sittings being common at the end of a session or exceptional occasions.

Most of the work of the House is transacted in the committees into which it is divided and not in the full House as in England. Hence it is a purely legislative body and not a debating body like the House of Commons. As the Executive is not responsible to it and as the Secretaries do not sit there as leaders, there is very little of discussion, but in committees freedom of discussion is full and unfettered. The only subject that is thoroughly discussed and debated in the House is finance. Money bills must originate in the House of Representatives.

The most important man next to the President in America is the Speaker of the House of Representatives who receives an annual salary of £2,400. He is the Leader of and the most powerful member in the House. He chooses the personnel of the Committees and appoints their Chairmen. He also presides over the House. The most important standing committees are those of Ways and

Means and Appropriations, the others of note being of *Banking and Currency, Commerce, Agriculture, Harbours and Rivers, and Insular Affairs*. There are now more than fifty committees of the House of Representatives.

While the House as a whole does not directly control the Executive, the Committees are in close touch with the departments and scrutinise them closely and constantly. The committees may summon officials before them and question them; and though responsible only to the President and not bound to answer the committees, the departmental chiefs furnish the required information and cultivate intimate relations with them owing to the legislative power and control of the purse exercised by the House.

The Senate.

The Senate, the other branch of the Legislature, is the strongest second chamber in the world, with the exception of the German *Bundesrath*. It consists of 96 members, each State electing two. One-third of the Senators are elected every two years. Every candidate must be not less than thirty years of age, must not be an office holder under the United States, and must be a resident of the State in which he seeks election. The Senator's term of office is six years. The members of the Senate are elected by the State legislatures but it must not be supposed that the election is on that account indirect as is the case with the French Senators, for the members of the State legislature are elected on a general ticket with the object of *voting for particular candidates*. So notwithstanding the indirect machinery, the election of Senators is a popular election as that of the President and is in reality brought about

by the *direct vote of the citizens*. Every Senator is paid the same salary with secretariat, stationery, and travelling allowances as that of a Representative. Of the 96 Senators now sitting 53 are lawyers by vocation though most of them have ceased to practise and are full time politicians, 22 are public officials, 5 are farmers, and 5 are journalists.*

In all matters of legislation, except the initiation of money bills, the Senate has equal powers with the House of Representatives. In practice, the Senate is more powerful and the stronger chamber. The additional powers enjoyed by the Senate are (1) that every treaty, to become effective, *should be ratified* by a two-thirds vote of the senators present, (2) every presidential appointment of ambassadors, ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court and other officials *must be confirmed* by the Senate. These two important functions are denied to the House of Representatives. The American Senate is the strongest elected second chamber in the world.

Being a relatively small, compact and well organised body resting on popular support and enjoying a long tenure of power as a permanent body that is never wholly changed, the American Senate fulfils all the functions of an efficient second chamber. The bulk of the talent that flows into politics in America, is to be found in it. There are more distinguished members in the Senate than in the other House. John Stuart Mill's idea of a second chamber of statesmen is more than carried out in it. The founders of the American Constitution had in view a second chamber that should be "a centre of gravity in the Government, an authority able to correct and check on the one hand the

* The World Almanack and Encyclopaedia.

democratic recklessness of the House and on the other the monarchical ambition of the President." This object has been successfully effected by the Senate. The superior attraction of the Senate draws to it the ablest and most ambitious of American politicians, many of whom have sat in the House. Most of the Senators are ex-governors, ex-judges, and ex-members of the House of Representatives and the State legislatures.

The greater part of the work of the Senate is done by means of Standing Committees. There are more than seventy committees which are in close touch with the Administration. The Committee on Foreign Relations is the most important. Other important committees are those on Civil Service and Retrenchment, Commerce, Banking and Currency, Finance, and Railroads.

The Judicature.

The Federal judiciary consists of four sets of Federal Courts (1) the Supreme Court at Washington (2) the Circuit Courts of Appeals (3) Circuit Courts and (4) District Courts.

The Supreme Court at Washington consists of a Chief Justice who receives an annual salary of £3,000 and eight associate judges who receive each an annual salary, £2,900. The United States is divided into *nine* circuits and there are thirty-two circuit judges who are each paid an annual salary of £1,400. There are 101 districts in the Union, each district judge being paid £1,200 a year.

The Parliaments of England, France and Italy are sovereign bodies and they can change the Constitution but the American Congress is not a sovereign body and cannot change the Constitution for which the consent of the people is necessary. This as well as the fact that the Supreme

Court is the *final arbiter* as regards the interpretation of the Constitution makes it the *strongest bench* in the world. If the Supreme Court declares any Act of Congress or a State legislature unconstitutional, that Act is *void* and there is no remedy unless by amendment of the Constitution. The great service rendered by the Supreme Court to the Union has been the *expansion of federal jurisdiction and powers* by a series of decisions. The framers of the Constitution regarded the judiciary as a barrier to the despotism of the President and the encroachments and oppressions of the Congress. *

The Supreme Court sits at Washington from October till June in every year. Six judges should be present to pronounce a decision. This ensures a *thorough* consideration which could not be done by a division of the judges into branches. Every case is discussed by the *whole body* twice over; "once to ascertain the *opinion of the majority* which is then directed to be set forth in a written judgment; then again when that written judgment, which one of the judges has prepared, is submitted for criticism and adoption as the judgment of the Court." **

The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction in cases affecting the Constitution, laws and treaties; illegal executive acts; ambassadors and foreign consuls; controversies to which the United States is a party; controversies between two or more States, between the citizens of a State, between citizens of different States, between a State and foreign citizens; and appellate jurisdiction from inferior federal courts. The tenure of American federal judges is more secure than that of English judges for while the latter can

* Hamilton, in *Federalist*.

** Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. 1. page 231.

be removed from office by an address from both Houses of Parliament the former cannot be removed by an address from the Congress nor by the President.

A special tribunal with a Chief Justice (salary £1,300 a year) and four associate judges (annual salary £1,200) has been established in Washington called the Court of Claims to deal with the claims of private persons against the Federal Government. In 1909, a Court of Customs Appeals was created with a presiding judge (annual salary £1,300) and four associate judges (annual salary £1,200) to decide cases relating to Customs duties. An appeal from these Courts lies to the Supreme Court.

Salaries of Judges in England and India.

In England the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary receive a salary of £6,000 a year, the Master of the Rolls £6,000, the Lords Justices of Appeal £5,000, the Lord Chief Justice £8,000, the Judges of the High Court £5,000, and the majority of County Court Judges £1,500. In India the Chief Justices of Madras, Bombay and Allahabad, and Patna High Courts receive each £4,000 a year, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court £4,800 a year, the Puisne Judges of all the High Courts £3,200 a year, and District Judges from £1,700 to £2,400.

The States and their Governments.

So far we have dealt with the National or Federal Government and its three organs, the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. Let us now briefly sketch, the Governments of the constituent States.

There are 48 States in the American Republican Union which enjoy sovereignty in all matters not expressly surrendered to the National Government. The American

State, it must be borne in mind, analogous to a province in size only, is a peculiar organism, unlike any thing in modern Europe or in the ancient world; and each State is a tiny republic. The constitution of a State is decided by itself without any interference either from other States or, the National Government, subject to the only condition that it must be republican.

Each State is provided with a Legislature of two Houses, a Governor and other executive officials and a judicial system. The Governor is chosen by direct vote of the people over the whole State. His term of office varies from 2 to 4 years—1 year in 25 States, 1 year in one State, 3 in one, 5 in one, and 2 in the remaining 20 States — and his salary from £500 to £2,000 a year. The more important States, New York, California, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New Jersey pay their Governors £2,000 per annum, Illinois £2,400, and most of the other States pay £1,000 to £1,200. The Governor's duty is to see to the faithful administration of the law. He commands the military forces of the State. His power to nominate officials is little. He has the right to recommend measures but does not present Bills to the legislature. In some States he presents estimates. He has the right to veto Bills, but the veto may be overridden by the two Houses, in some States by a simple majority, in others by a three-fifths or two-thirds majority. The chief officials who administer State affairs such as secretaries, treasurers, members of boards of commissioners, etc., are generally *elected* by the people at the general State elections for terms similar to those for which Governors hold office. The Governorship of the more important States is a great political prize as it is the stepping stone to the Presidency. Roosevelt and Ch. Hughes made their mark as Governors

of New York, and Woodrow Wilson as Governor of New Jersey.

The Legislature of every State is biennial, the smaller called the Senate and the larger the House of Representatives or the Assembly. *Both Houses are elected* by the people. The senatorial electoral districts are larger than the House districts. A senator's term of office in most States is *four* years while a representative's term is *two* years. In some States as New York the Assembly members are elected *annually*. The number of State senators varies from seventeen to sixty three, and Representatives from 35 to 400. The members of both Houses receive the *same* salary, annual, sessional or per diem. The following table shows some of the important particulars for the leading States :—

States.	Population (millions.)	Senate No. of members.	House of Rep. Num. of members	Salary of member of Legislature.
New York	9	51	150	£ 300 p. annum.
Pennsylvania	8	50	207	300 p. annum.
Illinois	6	51	152	700 p. annum.
Ohio	5	33	123	200 "
Texas	4	31	142	1 per diem.
Missouri	3	34	142	1 "
Massachusetts	3	40	240	200 p. annum.
New Jersey	3	21	60	100 "
Michigan	3	32	100	160 "
California	2	30	80	200 p. term.
Wisconsin	2	33	200	100 p. annum.
Indiana	3	50	100	1 per diem.

Both Houses are invested with equal powers of legislation, the exception being that money bills must originate in the

House of Representatives. The Senate has the right to judge officials impeached by the House and confirming appointments made by the Governor.

State Legislatures deal with all matters not reserved for the Federal Government by the Federal Constitution or falling within restrictions imposed by the State Constitutions. Their chief powers are the control of all elections to public office and determination of the qualifications of the right of suffrage ; enactment and execution of criminal law ; the civil law ; marriage, divorce ; the chartering and control of all manufacturing, trading transportation and other corporations ; education ; charities ; licensing ; the regulation of the liquor traffic ; fisheries.

The revenues of States are derived chiefly by a direct tax upon property, in some cases both real and personal, in others on land and buildings only, This source of direct taxation was till 1913 left to the States exclusively, but since then an amendment to the Federal Constitution has been adopted authorising Congress to levy an income tax.

New York.—The Executive Officials.

Taking the most important State in the Union we find that the Executive consists of the following officials:—

A Governor, elected for two years—salary	£ 2000 a year and mansion.
A Lieutenant-Governor	£ 1000 a year
A Secretary of State	£ 1200 „
A Comptroller	£ 1600 „
A State Treasurer	£ 1200 „
An Attorney-General	£ 2000 „
A State Engineer and Surveyor	£ 1600 „
A Superintendent of Insurance	£ 2000 „

A Superintendent of Banking Department	...1500 [£]
A Superintendent of State Prisons	...1200
A Superintendent of Public Works	...1600
A Commissioner of Education	...2000

In addition to these, there are also four Deputy Comptrollers (salary £1200) two Deputy Superintendents of Insurance (salary £1200), a State Architect (salary £2000), four Civil Service Commissioners (salary £1000), a Commissioner of Highways (£2000), a Conservation Commissioner (salary £1600), a Commissioner of Agriculture (salary £1600), a State Commissioner of Health (£1600) five Industrial Commissioners (£1600), three Hospital Commissioners (£1780, £1280, £1280), three State Commissioners of Elections (£1000), and a Commissioner of Foods and Markets (£1200). I have given these figures and the composition of the Executive Government in the leading American State, New York, in order that a comparison might be made with the structure of the executive and salaries of the high officials of the major Indian provinces.

Judiciary of the State of New York.

The New York State Court of Appeals consists of a Chief Justice (salary £2840 a year) and nine Associate Judges (salary £2740). There is also a Supreme Court, with Appellate and Original divisions. The Judges of the 1st and 2nd districts receive an annual salary of £3500, those of the remaining districts £2000 a year each. The Judges in seven States are appointed by the Governor, in four they are elected by the legislature, and in all the others they are *elected by the people*.

Financial Powers of States.

The States are *financially independent to raise revenue, and borrow* subject to certain limitations. The Federal

Government's sources are mainly Customs and Excise duties while the States resort to direct taxation mostly. The power to borrow freely was abused in the past and several States had to *repudiate loans in whole or in part or cease interest payments or both*. This led to the Constitution's limiting the power of borrowing. The repudiation of debts by the States is an instructive and important field of American finance that has so far been only partially explored. The repudiation cannot be said to have been *wholly unjust*. In several cases the unscrupulous practices and loathsome ways of greedy speculators and foreign financial sharks had reached a climax and there was nothing left to the States but the *drastic and inevitable* remedy of repudiation. It should also be noted that there were cases where the States acted unjustly. That epoch is over, and now the credit of the States is good and their stocks and bonds are eagerly sought by American and foreign financial bodies.

The tendency in American politics is now in the direction of strengthening and expanding the jurisdiction and powers of the National Government.

Parties and the Party System.

The two great American parties are the Republicans—broadly speaking, corresponding to the English Conservatives, and the Democrats corresponding to the English Liberals. In the American Federal Senate and House of Representatives, as well as in the State Legislatures, the Parties are not well organised, have no recognised leaders, and follow no definite policy. But the Party organisation outside the Congress and State Legislatures is extremely *strong, powerful, and all-embracing* the like of which does not exist in any other country.

The Presidential election, as I have already remarked, is the most exciting event of American politics in a four year period. The Parties, which are thoroughly organised, put forward their candidates in Conventions. The primary bodies choose delegates to the city convention which nominates the Mayor and other city officers; to the Assembly district convention, which nominates candidates for the lower House of the State Legislature; to the Senatorial district convention, which nominates candidates for the State Senate; to the Congressional district convention, which nominates candidates for Congress; to the State convention, which nominates candidates for the Governorship and other important State offices. The Presidential candidate is nominated by the National Convention, which is a representative body exclusively composed of delegates, duly elected at party meetings to the States who bring with them their credentials.

The National Convention, held in a city, consisting of from seven hundred to a thousand delegates, elect a Chairman and balloting takes place. The Republican party require an absolute majority and the Democrats a two-third majority for the candidate's nomination. A few ballots decide the election if it is not contested, but if keenly contested several ballots have to be taken before the decision is arrived at. In 1896 Mr. McKinley was nominated on the first ballot and Mr. Bryan on the fifth. In 1904 both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Parker, and in 1908 both Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan were each of them nominated on the first ballot. The nomination of Dr. Wilson, by the Democratic party in 1912, was a contested one. The Democratic Convention began balloting on June 28th and a nomination was reached only on July 2nd. There were forty-six ballots taken.

The first, tenth, twenty-fifth, forty-second and final ballots were as follows:—

Candidate,	1st ballot.	10th ballot.	25th ballot.	42nd ballot.	46th ballot.
Total Vote ...	1086	1088	1088	1087	1086
Necessary to achieve ...	724	725	725	725	724
Champ Clark ...	440	556	469	430	84
Woodrow Wilson ...	324	350	405	494	990
J. Harman ...	148	31	29	27	12
O. W. Underwood ...	117	117	108	104	...

In the Republican National Convention held in the same year Mr. Taft secured the nomination after the first balloting.

The Parties are highly organised, every State, city, and town having branches of the Central Association. The Parties run their Presidential, Congressional, State and Municipal candidates throughout the Union. For a long time there were only two Parties, the Republicans and Democrats. There is no permanent and sharp line of cleavage between the parties though at particular periods they have rival policies. The Democrats before the Civil War favoured slavery and the Republicans condemned it. In the eighties and nineties the Democrats were for free silver and bi-metallism, the Republicans for a sound gold standard. The Democrats favor a moderate protective tariff, the Republicans a very high protective tariff. The Republicans are imperialistic, the Democrats are anti-imperialistic. Since 1912, a third great party called the Progressivists has come into existence. As I have already remarked, the dictum that two and only two parties are necessary for working representative institutions does not hold good in

England or America now and never held good on the Continent. In the Presidential election of 1912 Wilson (Democrat) polled 6 million votes, Roosevelt (Progressive) 4 millions and Taft (Republican) 3½ million votes.

In the three party platforms, several policies are common but the difference lies in the prominence given to definite reforms and the candidates chosen by the parties. The following table gives the views of the parties adopted at their national platforms on certain leading questions :—

	Democratic.	Republican.	Progressive.
1. The Philippine Question ...	For Philippine Independence ...	Against Independence ...	(No policy).
2. Tariff Reform.	Downward revision	High Tariff ...	Moderate tariff.
4. Railroad Regulation ...	Drastic rate regulation and thorough reform ...	No specific reform	More publicity
4. Banking ...	Against a Central Bank ..	For a Central Organisation ..	For Government Control.
5. Rural Credits...	Speedy Organisation of Real Estate Credit ...	(Not mentioned)...	(No policy).
6. Waterways ...	Improvement and Extension on a large scale ...	River Control merely ..	Improvement
7. Shipping ...	No subsidies or bounties ...	(No specific policy)	(No policy)
8. Civil Service ...	Rigid enforcement of rules. ...	Same ...	Enforcement.
9. Anti-trust Law	Enforcement of law and new legislation.	No new legislation conceded, ...	A new strong Commission urged.
10. Income Tax ...	Graduation and adoption ..	(No mention ...	Graduated system.

The Civil Service.

Of the 420,652 posts of the Executive Civil Service, including the Navy, Army and all Federal departments,

264,092 or *nearly two-thirds are competitive posts*, the officers being recruited by competitive examinations. Of the non-competitive positions nearly 9,700 are in the gift of the President, the chief posts being Postmasterships and places in the Treasury. The competitive examinations are conducted by a Civil Service Commission at Washington. Each State has got its own separate Civil Service Commission to conduct competitive examinations for recruiting State officials.

The Press and the Universities.

Public opinion is more powerful in the United States than in any other country. The Press and the educational institutions—Universities and schools—are the two chief agencies mainly contributing to this development of Government by public opinion. There are ninety universities that employ more than a hundred instructors each, imparting higher education to more than a thousand students. The leading universities employ more than five hundred instructors each imparting instruction to more than five thousand students each. There are hundreds of professional and technical institutions, either independent or attached to the universities. There are 21,000 newspapers of all sorts published in the United States, and the total number of books published in 1914 amounted to 12,000. Several dailies published in New York, Washington, Chicago, Boston and other cities circulate by the million. The "New York American," the "New York Evening Journal," and two other papers owned by Mr. Hearst have twelve million subscribers. The "New York World," corresponding to the "London Times" is the chief supporter of the Government.

S. V. DORAISWAMI.

IN ALL LANDS.

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His Britannic Majesty has appointed a day for offering prayers all over the Empire for clear-sightedness at this "last and most difficult stage of the war." It seems to be expected that the war will somehow end next year or perhaps in 1919. If the shrine of militarism at Potsdam must be shattered, as Mr. Lloyd George insists, we may have to wait for a couple of years more. The British are steadily advancing in Flanders, but the progress is slow and even the stout-hearted British Premier has centred his hopes round the advent of the American millions. As yet the Americans have arrived in comparatively small numbers. Not a single soldier has yet been lost in transport. Nevertheless the safe transport of millions must take time, and as Potsdam is rather a long way off from Cambrai, we cannot count upon an early termination of the war.

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The British public visited its displeasure on Mr. Asquith. Rumania was lost. The reverses in Italy have not been passed over without murmur. Mr. Lloyd George, who was hailed a year ago as the man of the hour, has the same explanation to offer—absence of co-ordination in directing

Italy's Flight.

the armies and their operations on all fronts. In the case of Rumania the King of Greece was held at least partly responsible for the miscarriage of the plans. Wisdom was learnt in south-eastern Europe, but Mr. Lloyd George declares that it was learnt only in theory. His speech at Paris created a sensation. Wisdom in practice is learnt only after the event.

* * *

If Italy had received succour from her friends earlier, the progress of the enemy might perhaps have been retarded and the loss in men and munitions minimised. It is not clear whether a warning of the impending calamity was given by Mr. Lloyd George or by any other responsible person. But in view of the march of events in Russia many must have expected a transfer of enemy troops and guns from the eastern to the Italian front. Things have gone from bad to worse in Russia. Kerensky's Government has disappeared, the Maximalists appear to be in power at Petrograd, and no Government has the support necessary for a consistent foreign policy. War seems to be impossible in view of the attitude of the army and the navy. It is only the pressure of Britain and France in the West that has delayed the fall of the Russian capital.

* * *

In Russia the situation is obscure. Her Allies are not likely to recognise any Government which proposes peace or armistice. Dr. Wilson is prepared to treat such a Government as hostile. The activity of the enemy submarines shows inexplicable fluctuations, the losses in the

last few weeks have been much reduced but the enemy has announced his intention of extending the area of their activity. This may not really be a reply to Mr. Lloyd George. It may be a preparation for the coming fight with American transports. Submarines have failed in starving England, and in that enterprise they are not likely to succeed. America will co-operate in planning the operations in Europe. It may, therefore, be said that the obscurity of the situation as a whole is at least made visible by these bright spots.

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Britain can claim that she has not lost a single inch of territory and that the British soldiers
British Triumphs. and sailors, even when pitted against their German rivals, have proved their superiority. The Germans in East Africa are still fighting but they are retreating or being captured in small numbers, and this is the only colony which has not yet been altogether wrested from the enemy. In Mesopotamia the territory occupied is held apparently without much difficulty. In Palestine the British army has, after a series of triumphs, advanced right up to Jerusalem. Grumblers indeed are dissatisfied because the blockade of the enemy ports has not reduced the enemy nations to starvation, the navy could not help Russia in the Baltic and the control of the air is not perfect. But human achievements are rarely without limit.

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Critics may have two reasons to grumble—one that the persons who are entrusted with the
Peace Deferred. conduct of the war and the defence of the Empire commit avoidable blunders, and the other that peace is unnecessarily delayed. In the

former case a change of personnel and of methods can be tried. As regards peace, no one knows how it can be secured without humiliation. When Germany proposed to offer peace, President Wilson thought that peace without victory was out of the question. Germany tries to persuade Russia and Italy that they will lose nothing by accepting her terms, and that peace is delayed only by the French ambition of recovering what for many years has formed part of the German Empire and the British ambition to remain "tyrant of the seas." Nothing, however, is said of Belgium.



The Mysore Dewan's view, referred to last month, was evidently expressed with a knowledge of the support which it would enlist among Indian Chiefs.

The Annual Conference of the Chiefs formally requested H. E. the Viceroy to explain to Mr. Montagu the necessity of providing some form of representation to their States in the highest legislative Council of the Indian Empire. The Congress leaders appear to think that the inclusion of the States in the system of British Indian Government will lower their dignity. It all depends upon how the idea is carried out. Secondly, it is thought that the interests of the British Indian tax-payer may suffer at the hands of outsiders who would in the first place look to their own interests. Here again, the question is what powers of interference will be vested in the representatives of the States. H. E. the Viceroy and the Chiefs must hit upon a mutually satisfactory solution.

It is understood that the Zamindars who met in Bengal at the instance of the Maharaja of Darbhanga are in favour of a second legislative Chamber. Whether the representatives of the Protected States are accommodated in one or in both Chambers, their position and powers must be different from those of the citizens of British India. They will perhaps join the Council on special occasions, just as experts do in the existing Councils. When questions of common interest are discussed, the Government may invite the Native States members to attend and represent their views. In other proceedings, which relate exclusively to the affairs of British India, they would take no part. The question raised is novel, even as regards British Indian zamindars, and it has not been sufficiently discussed in the press. At least a few Congress leaders have acknowledged that their scheme of reforms is not inconsistent with the establishment of two Chambers.



An outstanding feature of the numerous representations submitted to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu is the anxiety displayed by many communities lest their interests should be insufficiently safeguarded in the forthcoming reforms. As the Congress scheme is approved by the Muslim League, one would have thought that it adequately represented Muslim aspirations. But the fact is not so. The League is satisfied with the concessions made in that scheme so far as the composition and powers of the Legislative Councils are concerned. Over and above those special privileges, the League has resolved to ask that in the Executive Councils

one half of the number of seats intended for Indians must be reserved for Mahomedans; or if a single seat is reserved for Indians, it must be alternately allotted to a Mohamedan and some other Indian. They would like the same principle to be followed wherever possible in the public service.



Up till now it is only in Madras that the distinction between Brahmans and non-Brahmans is emphasized, as if all castes other than Brahmans formed a single community.

Hindu Castes. In Bombay some of the Marathas have demanded separate representation for their community, without making common cause with other non-Brahmans. Their claim, like that of Mahomedans, seems to be based rather upon their past political greatness than upon the improbability of their getting what is due to them in the general competition. They are a community backward in education, but not specially backward. In Bengal, as well as in Bombay and Madras, the Depressed Classes have protested against the British relinquishing their authority into the hands of the higher castes, who in the past have oppressed them and reduced them practically to a state of slavery. Some of the spokesmen of these classes have expressed themselves bitterly—one address to Mr. Montagu asserts that they will shed their last drop of blood in resisting caste authority.



The late Sir T. Madhava Rao once remarked that if the strong hand of the British were to be withdrawn, India would immediately be reduced to a "bear garden." The very proposal to take a substantial step in the direction of

A Bear Garden.

conferring self-government on the people has been greeted from all sides with the cry. "We are an important community, and our share in the heritage must be so much, otherwise we cannot agree." The Mahomedans claim 50 per cent, the Depressed Classes have claimed 6 per cent. and others have specified their position in the partition. It varies from province to province. The Bengali demand of an exclusive province for themselves was granted. The Telugus have for years asked for a similar privilege. The Kanarese people of Bombay have followed suit. No one can foresee what new ideas will take possession of the popular mind.



According to telegraphic summaries, Lord Morley's newly published correspondence contains many ideas which are worthy of deep reflection at the present moment.

The Indian Demos.

One is that the Indian and the Anglo-Indian are equally impracticable. Perhaps Mr. Montagu will also feel the truth of this remark. It seems that an exalted personage predicted when Lord Morley was at the head of Indian affairs that the National Congress will some day become a great power. Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Secretary of the Bengal Congress Committee, declares that the Congress is practically dead and has become an appanage of the Home Rule League. He is trying to rally the Moderates. When Lord Morley said that the Indian was impracticable, he probably meant the impatient idealist. Mr. Montagu will discover other impracticable men by the score.

Some of the representations submitted to Mr. Montagu by Mahomedans insist that in any scheme of reforms the right to perform their religious observances unmolested should be safeguarded and that their personal laws should be respected. The Congress scheme of reforms provides these safe-guards. The apprehension of the minorities regarding their religion received some amount of justification at the last Bakrid festival, when several Mahomedan villages were looted by Hindus in Bihar. The Mahomedans allege that at the bottom of this fanatical outrage lay the cow-protection movement, and even the All-India Muslim League charged Hindu leaders with apathy when they should have restrained, or at least censured, their co-religionists. There are Europeans who sympathise with the protection of the cow as an economic measure. With Hindus it is an essentially religious question.

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While the Congress has yielded to the Mahomedan plea for special electorates, the Congress Committees have found a substitute for communal representation in what is known as proportional representation. This scientific method of ascertaining the choice of the people has not yet been adopted in England, but it has a future before it. Its stoutest advocate in India is the mathematician and educationist, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpe. He admits that it may not work satisfactorily in the case of the Depressed Classes, to whom, therefore, he would give special representation. The majority of other non-Brahman Hindus are as uneducated as they, and are

incapable of intelligent voting. Moreover, even men of ordinary education are swayed by considerations of caste and religion. Thus the scientific method is suited to a very small section of the population.

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H. E. the Governor of Bengal has made a somewhat sensational announcement. The Government has come into possession of a large body of evidence of a conspiracy, and it has been decided with the approval of the Secretary of State to submit this evidence to the judgment of a committee of experts under the presidency of a Judge brought from England. The anarchical crimes which have disfigured the history of Bengal for some years past point unmistakably to a conspiracy. The methods of the criminals are well known and have from time to time been explained by Government. But, who exactly are implicated in the conspiracy is a different question. In view of the large number of persons interned during war time, the enquiry is a wise step.

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At the dinner^t given by the Indian Chiefs in honour of the delegates to the last Imperial War Conference in London, Sir James Meston delineated a picture of future India. It would be a federation of States, some governed by the ancient ruling families, others by Indian Parliaments under the direction of British Governors. The idea of a federated India was officially put forward by Lord Hardinge when he proposed a revision of the constitution of Bengal and a change of capital. It has been advocated by writers

Leading Ideas.

like Sir Walter Lawrence. The present discussion of constitutional reforms has brought two more ideas into prominence—one is that of establishing a second Legislative Chamber and associating the Native States in some suitable form with the Government of India, and the other that of handing over certain branches of administration to popular control. This is favoured by Mr. Lionel Curtis and others,

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While Mr. Montagu is engaged in a great political enquiry, several others are being actively carried on under the shadow of the war. The Industrial Commission, which was appointed after the outbreak of the war and the dislocation of trade, has resumed its sittings. It is precluded from discussing the fiscal policy of the Empire. Nevertheless witnesses now and then manage to show how local industries may be helped by a suitable system of tariffs. The Commission will consider how the Government may help in other ways. A Cotton Committee is enquiring how the cultivation of the superior varieties of cotton, required by Lancashire and also by local manufacturers, may be encouraged. An Educational Committee, under the presidency of Dr. Sadler, is considering how the Calcutta University may be placed on a sounder and more efficient footing. The report of the Public Services Commission has given rise to several enquiries.

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Japan has made some sacrifices during the war and has helped in protecting the commerce of the Allies. Her own commerce has vastly benefited by the war, as every one knows in India, and some know only too

The Far East.

well. Her political ambitions are not clearly known, but evidently they are attracting attention in diplomatic circles. Germany tried to sow discord between her and America but without avail. It was then announced that a Japanese Mission had visited the United States, and satisfactory results had been achieved. This Mission might have discussed how Japan could be more useful to the Allies, especially to Russia, but Russia seems at present to be beyond the stage of any outside assistance. It is now announced that Japan claims a special interest in China, and the United States Government has recognised it. Probably she will gain special privileges in China by helping to restore order in that troubled republic.

